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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 May 1985

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

IMPLICATIONS OF SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALKS EXAMINED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 34-35

[Article by Lian Yi [3353 3354] in "International Forum" column: "America, Soviet Union Once Again Dance the Tango"]

[Text] The new year had just begun when Shultz and Gromyko, travel-weary and worn, rushed to Geneva and held a meeting of the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers on 7 and 8 January. They were in no mood to appreciate the national beauty of the lakes and mountains near this famous city in Switzerland, because unfolding before their eyes were talks that touched on the major strategic interests of the two countries and that would be extremely thorny. Even if the purpose of this meeting was only to decide by consultation on the procedures for future nuclear talks, the procedures are permeated with deep substantial differences. The two sides have now gotten ready for battle, and are prepared to carry out a round of new haggling on the question of arms control.

The reopening of high-level talks between America and the Soviet Union has been brewing for some time. In the stage when both sides refused to budge and were feeling each other out, a figure on the Soviet side once said: "It takes two to tango." Now, stemming from their respective needs, the two sides have decided to dance. However, because of their strategic interests, during the talks the two sides are bound to dispute every detail, and in the tango if one cannot avoid at times an inattentive deportment one will step on the other party's feet.

Under the Pressure of Events and Out of Mutual Need

A year ago Reagan wantonly vilified the Soviet Union as an "evil empire," which he would be happy to see eliminated. However, now how is it that he has suddenly changed his original intention, announcing that in his second term he will "not practice a tough policy" with regard to the Soviet Union and also wants to conduct "sincere talks?"

Originally, the Reagan government's general policy toward the Soviet Union was "to seek peace through strength." After 4 years of the Reagan administration, America's military and economic strength has been restored and enhanced, but not enough to change the fundamental posture of rough strategic parity; in the

foreseeable future, the two sides will find it difficult to change fundamentally this posture. With regard to Reagan's several years of vigorous arms expansion, there was long ago no lack of people in opposition to it in America and abroad. If he were to further intensify the arms expansion in his second term, he not only would be powerfully restricted by economic factors but also would incur more fierce opposition from the U.S. Congress and people and his Western Europe allies. For the sake of its global interest, the Soviet Union, when confronted with the challenge of an arms race, also inevitably must not stint at anything to keep up with America and bear a heavy burden. This determines that at the same time that the two superpowers are refusing to budge and are confronting each other, they must seek a dialogue and strive to reach some temporary and partial compromises so as to mitigate each one's internal and external difficulties.

From the angle of America's domestic politics, during Reagan's first term there was a lack of attainments in U.S.-Soviet relations. Faced with strong cries from various sides, in his second term he has to strive to open up some situations to improve East-West relations, so that he can go down in history with the image of a "peace president," and also leave "assets" for the Republican Party in the 1986 mid-term elections and the 1988 presidential elections.

The serious economic problems are also an important reason impelling America to hold talks with the Soviet Union. In the past 2 years, although the American economy has been in a recovery, in fiscal year 1984 the federal government's financial deficit broke the big barrier of \$200 billion and became a big hidden danger to America's economy. One way to reduce the deficit is to cut down expenditures. The federal government's biggest expenditure is the military expenditure. According to reports, Reagan has already persuaded Secretary of Defense Weinberger to slow down the rate of growth of military expenditure. For this reason, Reagan needs to reach a certain arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

At first the Soviet Union was determined not to have dealings with the Reagan government. However, the long, intense arms race has put enormous pressure on the Soviet economy, which lacked vitality from the start. Since several nuclear talks were broken off at the end of 1983, the Soviet Union has found itself isolated internationally. Recently, the Soviet Union has worried that America might make a new breakthrough in outer space weapons and thus upset the military balance between America and the Soviet Union. Therefore, under the circumstances in which Reagan has been reelected and his attitude toward talks has become more flexible, the Soviet Union has faced reality and agreed to hold talks.

Not Letting Slip an Opportunity, Striking While the Iron Is Still Hot

In 1985 America and the Soviet Union will hold high-level talks--this is what people have universally expected for some time. However, that the talks started hastily at the beginning of the year, starting with such urgency, is something that many people did not expect at the beginning. Seeking the reason for this, we find that it is because both America and the Soviet Union hoped to strike while the iron was hot.

In this general election Reagan defeated Mondale by an overwhelming majority, but his future is not necessarily smooth sailing. Looking back on the history of America in the past 50 years, we see that four presidents, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon, obtained big victories in their campaigns to be reelected. However, without exception, not long after they were reelected, their relations with Congress became daily more strained, political disturbances arose repeatedly, and their own parties were defeated in the mid-term elections. At present the majority of U.S. public opinion thinks the "honeymoon" between Reagan and Congress will not last more than a year, after which the two sides will begin a trial of strength on the solution of a series of problems such as the financial deficit, a tax increase, and the MX guided missile; and after the mid-term elections, it is very possible that the Democratic Party will recapture a majority in the Senate, making it harder for the president to control Congress. If this situation occurs Reagan will be further impeded by congress when dealing with the Soviet Union. Take the MX strategic guided missile for example: in 1984, when the Senate voted on it, it barely passed by a majority of one vote. At present, many Republican senators, including Goldwater, chairman of the Senate's Armed Services Committee, remain opposed to the MX guided missile. If this bill is brought up again in Congress and is defeated, Reagan will lose an important bargaining chip when talking with the Soviets. After his election Reagan announced that from now on, when major problems are encountered, at the necessary times he will appeal directly to the American people, and this reflects the fact that he is not without concern when looking ahead to the prospects for his relations with Congress. Therefore, he wants to do all he can to get talks on the arms control question going during the "honeymoon" and before he falls into the position of a "lame duck president."

The Soviet Union is extremely uneasy about America's recent successive experiments on outer space weapons and its obtaining of a breakthrough in military technology, and is anxious to get restraints and restrictions through talks. In addition, the struggle within the Reagan government between the "moderates" and the "hardliners" over the arms control question is surfacing daily, and the Soviet Union's motive for displaying "flexibility" at this time is to encourage the former and deal a blow to the latter.

The main content of the "umbrella talks" that America is proposing this time is no different from its original stand, and the only thing that is different is that in the communique it declares that this is a "new" session of talks. It is "old wine in a new battle"--the same old stuff--but the Soviet Union has made use of it to extricate itself from an awkward position, and it no longer makes as preconditions for holding talks America's withdrawal of its new-type guided missiles deployed in Europe and its stopping of outerspace weapons tests.

Protracted Negotiations, Many Difficulties in the Future

The American and Soviet foreign ministers are about to meet, but the basic stands of the two sides have not changed, and they each have a plan for the talks. Making use of the Soviet Union's fear about the development of outer space weapons, America is prepared to pressure the Soviet Union to make

concessions on intermediate-range and strategic nuclear weapons; upholding the "principle of equal security," the Soviet Union wants America to consider the "legitimate interests" and not be too pressing, and it will try, through the talks, to restrict America's development of outer space weapons. Both sides stress that they do not want to engage in empty talk but want to take "specific actions," but they both want the other side "to go first." As of now each of the two sides has taken some "specific actions" to "occupy the commanding heights" and deal a head-on blow to the other side on the eve of the talks. At the end of November, America set up a joint outer space headquarters to develop and have the authority to use outer space weapons, and set January 1985 as the month to launch a space shuttle with a military purpose. The leaders of the U.S. Government announced that they would not abandon the production of the MX missile, not stop testing antisatellite weapons, and not slow the rate of deployment of guided missiles in Europe. On the one hand the Soviet Union expressed the hope to return to the detente of the 1970's with America, and on the other hand it intensified the testing and employment of new-type guided missiles while its national defense budget, which in the past several year had been stabilized at about 17 billion rubles, will be increased in 1985 to 19 billion rubles.

Although the purpose of this meeting was only to discuss the agenda for the formal talks in the future, and was "talks about talks," the disputes about procedures reflected the sharp differences between the sides on substantive issues. For example, the Soviet Union stresses the discussion of outer space weapons, while America stresses the discussion of intermediate-range guided missiles, and there is more to which is put first and which last on the agenda than meets the eye. Therefore, it will not be an easy thing to reach agreement in this "procedural" talk, and the substantive negotiations will be even more protracted.

Both America and the Soviet Union want to make use of the "window of opportunity" opened by the new Reagan government's assumption of power to relax the serious situation in which both sides refuse to budge, but neither side will abandon its policy of striving for military superiority and contending for global hegemony. Therefore, it looks in general as if the basic posture in the U.S.-USSR strategic deadlock will not change, but after the dialogue and talks begin there could be an improvement in the atmosphere of the relations between the two countries. After intense bargaining for a long period of time, the possibility of reaching certain limited compromises cannot be ruled out. But the stands of the two sides on major issues will be hard to change, and there will still be a general tendency to maintain the spiralling escalation in the arms race, and there will also be new rises and falls in the contention for "hot spot" areas. All of this indicates that it will not be an easy thing to obtain a major change in U.S.-USSR relations.

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GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO MEMOIRS ON BANDUNG CONFERENCE

HK250321 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Li Shenzhi [2621 1957 0037]: "The Bandung Spirit and Zhou Enlai--Reminiscences of the Afro-Asian Conference"]

[Text] Toward the end of the Bandung Conference emerged the phrase "Bandung spirit."

What is the "Bandung spirit"? It is a spirit that opposes colonialism and racism and a spirit of reconciliation and unity.... This may after all be accepted as an answer to this question. However, one of the outstanding factors that enabled this conference, which was the first conference for the oppressed nations in Asia and Africa, to be held and to achieve success was the spirit of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" that was displayed in the conference.

Quite a few people--whether out of good or evil intentions--predicted that the conference would not succeed. An even larger number of people regarded it as a miracle that this conference was able to unanimously approve a "final communique" with such a wide-ranging and rich content.

It was indeed a miracle.

First, there had never been such a conference in history before that conference. Most of the participants to that conference were countries that had newly gained their independence. In other words, they were former colonial and semicolonial countries that had just gained the right to take part in international meetings. Moreover in that conference, there were no Western countries, which had been accustomed to set the tone for international meetings.

Second, that conference represented nearly one-third of the world's population and could be described as a meeting that represented one of the largest percentages of the world population in human history. However, the participant countries differed from one another in their political, economic and social systems, in their level of development, in their cultural tradition, in their religious faith, and in their ideology, and "even the colors of the skin of the people in these countries were different."

Third, the countries that sponsored the conference only set four general goals for the conference, but did not draw up a detailed agenda. Therefore, the door was wide open for all kinds of opinions to be aired and debated in the conference.

That conference was not a conference that any country could participate in, but it did not attempt to establish any alliance or group. However, it demanded unanimity for its conclusion--the sponsor countries had already decided through discussion that unanimous approval was imperative for any resolution to be adopted by the conference.

It was precisely because of this that the British weekly THE ECONOMIST asserted in January that year: "From the point of view of concepts, this conference was surely of historical significance...but from the point of view of actions, it is doubtful. Nearly all the participant countries will not be satisfied.... There are so many tunes to be sung at the conference, and they are unlikely to win universal praise"; "it will be rash to think that this conference will yield any definite outcome."

However, the results of the conference proved that those who thought that the Asian and African peoples were unable to coordinate their actions without being ordered about by others, were wrong. Just as President Sukarno said in his opening speech: "There are differences between us, but as long as we desire unity, what is the harm in diversification?" "We are seeking unity on the basis of matters more important than those on the surface that divide us."

Of course, the Afro-Asian conference experienced twists and turns, storms, and heart-rending moments. Throughout the conference, one could feel that there was a force, outside and inside the conference room and before and after the conference, which tried to exploit the differences between the participant countries to rouse disputes and thus cause the conference to end without any achievement.

In fact, at the beginning of the conference on 18 April, the disputes gradually became fierce until after 1600 on the second afternoon, when Zhou Enlai, head of the Chinese delegation, mounted the platform and gave a speech which suddenly relaxed the tension in the atmosphere of the conference. Perhaps, none of those who participated have ever forgotten this turning point in the conference.

What caused the trouble was that during the plenary sessions on the first 2 days, some representatives regarded, in their speeches, communism as a disaster similar to colonialism and at the same time ruthlessly attacked the neutralism practiced by some Asian and African countries. This gave rise to a crisis which made many people think that a division would be inevitable in the conference.

At the critical juncture when the open plenary session was drawing toward the end, Zhou Enlai mounted the platform. He explained that he decided to hand out the text of his speech which he had already written and only gave a short supplementary speech at that time. The first thing he said was:

"The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common grounds rather than to quarrel with other people."

Suddenly, a weight was lifted from people's hearts. All the participants listened to him with bated breath. Then Zhou Enlai elaborated the thesis that people have known well now: "The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common grounds rather than to conduct disputes.... Our conference must be a conference to seek common grounds while reserving differences."

Zhou Enlai calmly gave an explanation on the misunderstanding of some representatives about communism, communists and the PRC. He said that after World War II, the rising Asian and African countries chose different social systems, but this did not mean that they could not understand and respect one another or that they could not sympathize with and support one another. He said: "We do not demand that other people give up their own opinions, because these opinions reflect what objectively exists. However, we should not allow the differences in our opinions to hinder us from reaching a common agreement on major issues. We should understand and respect each other's different opinions on a common basis." Zhou Enlai declared that in order to prevent disputes in the conference, China had decided to withhold the issues concerning the situation in the Taiwan area and China's legitimate seat in the United Nations even though these demands of China were entirely just.

When one again reads that impromptu speech of less than 5,000 characters now, over 30 years after it was given, one still cannot find any eloquent diplomatic parlance, but only a complete sincerity to seek unity. If we say that the Colombo countries already expressed, in the goals that they formulated for the Afro-Asian conference, the hope and wish that people would surmount their differences to seek common grounds, then Zhou Enlai set by his words and deeds an actual example of seeking common grounds while reserving differences.

Thus the first disturbance at the Bandung Conference was overcome. The conference smoothly switched into the secret group meetings of the three committees. However, at the meeting of the political committee which began on 20 April, that was, at the meeting of the heads of the delegations of various countries, another disturbance emerged. The root cause of this disturbance continued to be the two kinds of opposite opinion mentioned above: One of the opinions upheld the implementation of neutralism and coexistence with communism; while the other opposed coexistence with communism. As the two sides were locked in a stalemate, some people concluded that it was already impossible for the conference to reach any agreement.

Finally, on the last day (23 April), Premier Zhou Enlai, of the country that had become the major theme of the disputes and that had refrained from taking part in them, gave a speech which some representatives regarded as "the most important speech at the Afro-Asian conference."

The key passage in the speech was: "In spite of the difference in the ideology that we believe in and in the international duties that we have shouldered, the goal for all of us should be to discover a basis for

safeguarding world peace and carrying out cooperation. Some people do not like the word 'coexistence,' well, let us use the phrase 'to live together in peace,' a phrase used in the UN Charter."

The obstacle was removed. On the basis of the Chinese motion, the political committee approved the "Ten Principles on Living Together in Peace and Friendly Cooperation Between Various Countries."

What is the true meaning of peaceful coexistence? What is the true meaning of seeking common grounds while reserving differences? This is the answer.

It is the Bandung spirit. It was precisely this spirit that enabled the Bandung Conference to become a conference of unity, "a rare conference of reason and dignity" as Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo called it. Through the countless contacts in plenary sessions and group meetings of committees, Asian and African countries who had been separated from one another for a long time, for the first time contacted one another and thus opened up a way to establish formal diplomatic relations between them and to carry out mutual aid and cooperation. Many people did not know one another when they came, but were intimate friends when they left. Many people misunderstood one another when they came, but brought mutual friendship away with them when they left. For example, Premier Zhou Enlai made the acquaintance of President Gamal Abdul Nasser and Prince Samdech Norodom Sihanouk at the conference.

The Bandung spirit was shown both inside and outside the conference room.

The greatest news outside the conference room during the conference was Zhou Enlai's proposal on holding talks with the United States to solve the dispute over the Taiwan issue.

In a speech that Zhou Enlai made on 19 April, he mentioned: "Originally, the tension in the Taiwan area was solely caused by the United States and we are well justified in putting a motion for solving this issue here.... But we refrained from doing that because such an action would promptly have led to disputes over these problems in our conference." On 23 April, at a luncheon at the residential place of Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, Zhou Enlai published the following statement in the presence of the heads of the delegations of eight countries who gathered there:

"The Chinese and American peoples are friendly with each other. The Chinese people do not want to fight any war with the United States. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down to talk with the U.S. Government and discuss with it the problems concerning the relaxation of the tension in the Far East, in particular, the problem concerning the relaxation of the tension in the Taiwan area."

According to Romulo: "This three-sentence statement shook the whole conference." The reporters who flocked to Bandung from all countries vied with one another in sending out this particularly important item of news. The heads of the delegations of various countries also gave speeches one after another to welcome Zhou Enlai's statement.

Another important news item outside the conference room during the conference was the signing of an agreement on the problem of dual nationality by Chinese Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai and Indonesian Foreign Minister (Sunari) on the morning of 22 April. This agreement not only solved a problem between China and Indonesia left over by history, but also showed China's willingness to solve similar problems with all other Southeast Asian countries where there were "Overseas Chinese." With actual deeds, China gave a reply to the misunderstanding and doubt of some participant countries on these problems.

Thirty years have passed and the Afro-Asian conference has already become a majestic monument that marks the arrival of the high tide of decolonization. When the Afro-Asian conference was held, there were only five independent countries in Africa, and the Gold Coast (later called Ghana) and Sudan which participated in the conference had not entirely won their sovereignty, but now there are 50 independent countries there. Many new independent countries have emerged in Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. While the composition of the international community has changed, there has also been tremendous change in international relations. Among the countries that participated in the Afro-Asian conference, only 7 countries recognized China, but now, China has already established diplomatic relations with 130 countries. This has roughly been the same for other countries. Though the term Third World was not much in use at that time, Bandung was indeed the birthplace of the movement of the Third World, which is playing an increasingly greater role in the current world. From the "final communique" of the Afro-Asian conference, it is not difficult for us to find the buds of the later Nonaligned Movement and the concept of a new international economic order.

Undoubtedly, the success of the Bandung Conference was the consequence of the joint efforts of all the participant countries; in other words, it was the outcome of the practice of people working together to seek common grounds on major matters and reserve minor differences. The history of international relations since the Bandung Conference, including the history of the relations between African and Asian countries and between Third World countries, has proved that only when the parties concerned can seek common grounds and reserve differences can relations, whether bilateral or multilateral, develop and make progress. Otherwise, there will be setbacks, and then stagnation or retrogression.

Late at night on the very day when Zhou Enlai gave a speech at the plenary session, I wrote the following passage in my diary:

"Perhaps, only history can accurately estimate the depth and width of the repercussion of the speech of the representative of 600 million Chinese people today. However, even tonight, it at least has definitely imbued people with confidence in and hope for tomorrow."

Not long ago, I read a newsletter by a RENMIN RIBAO reporter on his interview in New York City with Romulo, who is already 85 years old. Romulo particularly talked about Zhou Enlai's great contribution to the success of the Afro-Asian conference by putting forth the principle of seeking common grounds and reserving differences. He also recalled the long speech that he

gave at the conference against communism. However, Zhou Enlai did not contend with him inside the conference room, but had wide and deep discussion with him outside the conference room. He said: "At the time when the Bandung Conference was held, the Philippines had not established diplomatic relations with China, but since then Zhou Enlai and I have established friendship and become good friends."

In his book "Significance of the Bandung Conference," a book that he wrote in 1956, Romulo cited a well-known saying of a Greek philosopher: "History is the practical examples that philosophers use to teach philosophy." The Bandung Conference was precisely one of the best actual examples which showed that the wisdom of seeking common grounds while reserving differences enlightened the people in the world on the way to peacefully resolve their disputes and unite together to seek progress.

During the closing ceremony, the Indonesian prime minister, who was the chairman of the Afro-Asian conference, concluded his closing speech with the following words: "May we continue to forge ahead on the way we have already jointly taken, and may the Bandung Conference become a lighthouse that directs the way for Asia and Africa to make progress."

However great progress the world has achieved since then, there is still a long way to go to achieve the goal of peace, stability, prosperity, and happiness. May the Bandung spirit continue to be a bright light of reason that directs the way to peacefully coexist (or to live together in peace) for the human race that is suffering from conflicts and confrontation.

CSO: 4005/859

GENERAL

BRIEFS

HUANG GANYING LEAVES FOR UN CONFERENCE--Comrade Huang Ganying, vice chairman of the All-China Women's Federation and Chinese representative to the UN Women's Status Committee, left Beijing for New York on 24 April to attend the third preparatory meeting of the world conference on examining and appraising achievements in the UN Decade of Women. The meeting will settle the unresolved problems concerning the world conference on examining and appraising achievements in the UN Decade of Women to be held in Nairobi in July this year. It will determine whether the world conference will be held as scheduled. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 24 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4005/859

UNITED STATES

HUANQIU DISCUSSES REAGAN'S STAR WARS PLAN

HK200733 Beijing HUANQIU in Chinese No 2, 23 Feb 85 pp 2-4

[Article by Cao Ye [2580 0396]: "What Actually Is the Reagan Administration's 'Star Wars Scheme'?"]

[Excerpts] The "star wars program" was first mentioned by U.S. President Reagan in a speech on 23 March 1983. Its official name is "strategic defense initiative," and its purpose is to establish a multi-tiered antiballistic comprehensive defense system with directed energy weapons as its main component. The appearance of such a strategic plan shows that space war is no longer something merely existing in science fiction. Instead, it will be a form of war for which the two superpowers are seriously planning and making preparations. Its characteristic is the use of some highly efficient antiballistic missiles to resist destructive ballistic missiles.

Because of these advantages of the "star wars program," the Reagan administration is making great efforts to put it into practice. In April 1984, the United States set up a strategic defense planning bureau, which is directly subordinate to the defense secretary, to coordinate the research work and tests carried out by various military services and government departments in connection with this program. By the end of 1984, the U.S. Government had spent \$990 million on this program, and it has planned to appropriate \$26 billion between 1985 and 1989 to promote the feasibility studies of this program. It is expected that the entire program will be finalized by the early 1990's, and the formal development stage will begin. After that, the new system will be deployed for actual battles.

Here, people may ask why the Reagan administration has put forward this "star wars program" at the present stage.

In the early 1970's the United States did not find it urgent and possible to establish an effective nationwide antimissile system. However, since the beginning of the 1980's, some major changes have occurred in technology and in the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, which have taken some new strategic postures. This makes it not only possible but also necessary for the United States to establish a large-scale antimissile system. Main factors that have promoted the Reagan administration to decide on the development of the new antimissile system are as follows:

First, the development of directed energy and microelectronic technology in the 1980's makes it possible to establish a large-scale antimissile system. The United States began to develop its antimissile system after the Soviet Union matched it in strategic nuclear strength in late 1950's. Its "safeguard" antimissile system was deployed in 1969. However, this defensive system encountered some insoluble technical difficulties, and the United States concluded in 1972 that its technological level at that time was not able to meet the requirements of the establishment of an effective antimissile system. Then, it closed down the "safeguard" system in Grand Forks in 1976. However, the United States has never stopped its efforts to develop new antimissile technology, and has made substantial progress in recent years. It has made some successful tests in using lasers to [word illegible] dummy ballistic missiles. Now it is trying to improve the laser weapons' ability to penetrate the warheads in a shorter time. In particular, the development of short-wave laser technology and the improvement of nozzles has made it possible to raise the power of the laser transmitter from the present level of 2 to 3 megawatts to 10 or even scores of megawatts. It is expected that within 4 to 5 years the United States can make a laser reflector 10 meters in diameter, as compared with the existing ones with a diameter of 2.4 meters. The effective firing range of a high-density laser may be raised to 500 or even 3,000 kilometers. The development of space shuttles also makes it possible to increase the carrying capacity of spacecraft from 30 tons at present to 100 tons, and this makes it possible to deliver the laser transmitters into orbit. According to the estimates of the U.S. Strategic Defense Planning Bureau, as long as about 100 laser transmitters are deployed in low-altitude orbits (with each being able to destroy 50 to 100 intercontinental ballistic missiles), most Soviet ballistic missiles will be destroyed at the boost or post-boost stages of their flight. With the help of the land-based laser weapons, precisely guided missiles, and guns, the rate of successful interception of the entire system may reach 80 percent at least, or as high as 95 percent. In addition, the technology for long-wave infrared detectors, mobile, covered, and small-sized consolidated radars, and microprocessors is improving day after day. This can not only enhance the defense system's ability to detect, identify, and trace targets, but can also make up for the vulnerability of large-sized ground radars. More than 10 years ago, the emergence of a high-efficiency large-scale computer able to make 1 billion calculations in a second was something unimaginable. Now this type of computer offers a foundation for the command and communications system for the complicated antimissile battles. Under this new situation, Reagan has repeatedly emphasized that "the effort to develop such a system is appropriate" to the present technological conditions. In 1983, scores of American scientists headed by Frosch, former administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, unanimously agreed after several months' analysis that "a solid and effective multi-tiered antimissile defensive system will eventually be established."

Second, the establishment of a large-scale antimissile system is an important means that the United States needs to adopt in order to restore its nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. In the early 1970's, the strategic nuclear forces of the United States and the Soviet Union reached a quantitative equilibrium, but the United States still had a good lead over the Soviet

Union in the accuracy of its missiles and in the multi-warhead technology. In those years, the United States regarded its strategic nuclear force as safe from any Soviet nuclear attack. However, since the late 1960's, the Soviet Union has developed five new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and its multi-warhead technology and hitting accuracy has become able to match those of the United States. Now the Soviet Union is able to destroy most of the U.S. land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and a considerable number of strategic missile-carrying submarines and strategic bombers through a first strike. This has given rise to "window of vulnerability" for U.S. strategic nuclear force. In these circumstances, the United States has found it imperative to establish an effective antimissile system so as to guarantee its strategic nuclear force's ability to survive and to act as a reliable deterrent.

Moreover, the Soviet Union also began to study antimissile technology at the same time as the United States did so. In addition to the "Galosh" antiballistic missile system that has been deployed, the Soviet Union is establishing a new ABMX-3 antiballistic missile system. The Soviet Union's mastery of the directed energy weapons and aerospace technology does not lag far behind the United States. If the Soviet Union succeeds in building a large-scale antimissile system ahead of the United States, it would be able to soundly defend itself as well as to stage an offensive, and the United States would be reduced to a passive position. Therefore, the United States has decided to take the lead in establishing a large-scale antimissile system so as to maintain its strategic superiority.

Furthermore, both the United States and the Soviet Union have substantially advanced their technology for the offensive strategic nuclear missiles, and there is not too much potential for further improvement of these weapons. It is hard to break the deadlock marked by the equilibrium of nuclear forces between the two sides merely by increasing the quantity or improving the quality of their nuclear weapons. If the United States takes the lead in building a large-scale antimissile system by making use of its technological and economic advantages, it will then greatly offset and cripple the nuclear offensive capacity of the Soviet Union, and thus will regain the superiority of the U.S. strategic nuclear force over that of the Soviet Union.

Third, the Reagan administration is trying to substitute an "actual war" nuclear strategy for the previous strategy of "ensuring mutual destruction." This requires an antimissile system in order to enhance combat capacity. From 1962 to 1978, the United States basically pursued the "mutual destruction" strategy which was mainly designed to strike the enemy's city targets. The premise for this strategy was that both sides had the ability to carry out large-scale retaliatory strikes and had no effective defensive means. As a result, neither side dared to stage a nuclear war that would lead to self-destruction, and the purpose of preventing the outbreak of nuclear war could be achieved. Since 1979, the United States has changed its nuclear strategy into an "offsetting one" which is focused on hitting the enemy's military targets. The Reagan administration has declared that the possibility of fighting a limited nuclear war should not be ruled out. It has built up its nuclear force's ability to hit the enemy's military targets and

also its civil defense. The Reagan administration holds that the overall plan of the United States should be based on the premise that the nuclear war is likely to occur, so not only should the nuclear strike capability be strengthened, but a defense system against nuclear attack must also be built. Only by making full preparations for actual war, no matter whether in an offensive or defensive position, can it have a reliable deterrent and stand firm in case of the outbreak of nuclear war.

Fourth, the "star wars program" will lay a foundation for the United States to seize control of outer space. Military history shows that controlling a new spatial sphere through the mastery of new technology will always help one establish military superiority. The strong cavalry troops of Genghis Khan enabled the Mongols to conquer the Eurasian continent. The gunboats of Britain enabled it to control the oceans and the world for nearly 100 years. In the late 1950's, the two superpowers successively succeeded in launching man-made satellites. Then, they began an intense military rivalry in outer space. At the initial stage, they vied with each other in launching various military satellites which served the purposes of reconnaissance, warning, guidance, communications, and meteorological observation so as to improve their respective combat capacity and their defense. After the appearance of manned spacecraft and laser weapons, they gradually shifted the focus of attention to the enhancement of potential combat capacity in the outer space. In the autumn of 1981, some American strategists and scientists headed by Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, published a study report about the "high frontier," saying that the United States should and can establish an antimissile system to gain control of outer space. The United States holds that by linking the establishment of the antimissile system according to the "star wars program" with the development of anti-satellite projects and the space shuttle plans, it will not only be able to protect its various space facilities, destroy the enemy's missiles and satellites, enable itself to see and hear better, and block the enemy's eyes and ears, but will also enable itself to occupy a commanding position high in the sky and contain the enemy so as to win decisive superiority in future wars. Because the "star wars program" is of great importance to the national interests of the United States, the Reagan administration considers it completely worth spending hundreds of billions or even thousands of billions of dollars on this program.

At present, preparations have been made to put the "star wars program" into practice. Whether it will be completely carried out will deeply affect the international situation. First, the gradual implementation of this program will intensify the U.S.-Soviet arms race in a new sphere, that is, the sphere of outer space, and this will add factors of instability to the international situation. Second, this program may make arms control and disarmament talks more complicated and difficult. In addition to these two points, the contradiction between the two superpowers and their respective allies may become sharper; the reliability of the nuclear strategies, patterns of war, tactics, and even formation of military forces of the United States and the Soviet Union may all change because of this program.

However, the "star wars program" of the United States now remains in the stage of exploration, and the final and formal decision to develop some new space weapons will be made only in the early 1990's. In view of the technological and economic strength of the United States, it is possible for this country to eventually use sophisticated technology such as directed energy to intercept missiles. However, the Soviet Union will also take various countermeasures, such as making the casing of its missiles more solid, increasing the ability to penetrate the enemy's defense system, and using various means to damage the sensors, reflectors, and space platforms of the antimissile system so as to deactivate the entire defense system. Of course, these countermeasures will encounter more difficulties than the development of the directed energy antimissile technology. In addition, there exists strong opposition to the "star wars program" in the United States, and members of the opposition group are mainly Democrats and many famous scientists. They not only oppose the program on the grounds of its technical feasibility, economic costs, disarmament considerations, and its influence on the country's relations with its allies and on the international situation, but also maintain that the "actual war-oriented" nuclear strategy is unrealistic and dangerous, and the strategy that ensures "mutual destruction" will be the sole feasible nuclear strategy. So they call for scrapping this "useless strategic defense initiative" (that is, the "star wars program") which will cost the country dearly and will upset the stability of the strategic situation. They will create obstacles in matters of appropriations to hinder the Reagan administration from carrying through this program. Therefore, the implementation of the "star wars program" will be very difficult and will be full of twists and turns.

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24 May 1985

UNITED STATES

PRC JOURNAL VIEWS U.S. MILITARY SPENDING

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[Article by Dong Zhuangdao [5516 1104 6670] and Liu Fuhai [0491 4395 3189]:
"Growth of Postwar U.S. Military Spending and Its Effects on the Economy"]

[Text] After the war, the United States maintained vast and continuously rising military spending. In the prewar period 1920-1938, the grand total of direct U.S. military spending was \$18.9 billion, averaging not more than \$1 billion per year. Direct military spending for 1939 was \$1,368,000,000, which accounted for 1.6 percent of the GNP or 15.5 percent of federal expenditures. After the war, military spending for 1950 was \$12.4 billion, for 1960 \$45.2 billion, for 1970 \$78.6 billion, and for 1980 \$135.9 billion, representing 5.3-8.9 percent of the GNP or 23.6-49 percent of federal expenditures. (See the 1983 budget report of the U.S. administration, the 1983 U.S. national defense report, and the 1980 U.S. "Summary of Statistics") In recent years, U.S. military spending has risen still more rapidly. It was \$196,345,000,000 in 1981. It had already swelled to \$225,345,000,000 in 1983. (AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY WEEKLY (U.S.), 9 January 1984) This was more than 2.6 times the highest U.S. military spending during the period of World War II. (Direct military spending for 1945 was \$84,569,000,000.) The speed at which military spending has grown has rarely been seen in the United States in times of peace. According to a report by the U.S. Arms Control Association, the average U.S. per-capita share of military spending before World War II was \$75. It had risen to \$855 in 1982 (SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, 26 December 1983, p 1), an increase of more than 10 times. After the war, the United States put the national economy on a military basis, turning what was a temporary phenomenon in war into a constant one to become the country with the highest military spending among main capitalist countries.

Why should the United States have maintained such vast and continuously growing military spending in the postwar period? Apart from such factors as the complexity of weapons systems, the need for rapid upgrading and replacement, increases in research and manufacturing expenses, and rising commodity prices, the main reasons are:

First, arms expansion is a means for the U.S. monopoly capitalists to pursue hegemonism and expand their political and economic spheres of influence abroad. This is dictated by the rapacious nature of imperialism. After the

development of capitalism from the stage of free competition to that of monopoly from the end of the 19th century to the early 20th century, to contend for world hegemony, leading imperialist countries by the time of World War II had launched and supported several dozens of major and minor battles and cases of armed intervention, with military spending reaching great heights. To prepare for World War II, in the 6 years from 1933 to the autumn of 1939, military spending in Hitler's Germany reached as much as 90 billion marks, which accounted for 60 percent of the state budget for the same period. Military spending as a percentage of national income rose from 6 percent in 1933 to 14 percent in 1938. Also, on the eve of the opening of the overall war of aggression against China by Japanese imperialism in 1936, its direct military spending reached 1,089,000,000 yen, 7 percent of national income or 47.7 percent of the state budget. After the war, the United States rose to the position of a capitalist world hegemonist. U.S. monopoly capitalism also declared the 20th century as the "U.S. century." To weaken the strength of the socialist camp and protect the capitalist economic system, the United States started wars of aggression against Korea and Indochina. After the mid-1950's, the Soviet Union had become a super-power practicing hegemonism abroad, posing a serious threat to the United States in its domination of the world. To contend for world hegemony with the Soviet Union, the United States accelerated growth of military spending, beginning from the mid-1950's. After 1979, the pace of growth further accelerated. This was especially the case after Reagan's assumption of office in 1981 when it was decided to "rebuild U.S. military strength" in an attempt to wrest back strategic superiority from the Soviet Union. In 1982, military spending showed a real increase of 7.7 percent, in 1983, 10.5 percent, and in 1984, 10 percent. Total military spending for 5 years, based on the 1984-1988 army-building plan put forth by the Reagan administration in 1983, reached \$1,600 billion, with the annual average exceeding \$300 billion. (RENMIN RIBAO, 11 October 1983, p 7) The goal of the contest is, in the final analysis, to gain political and economic interests. Lenin pointed out: "Imperialist external expansion in a bid for colonies and spheres of influence is not a policy 'adopted willingly' by imperialism and has instead deep economic roots." To this end, the United States has energetically pushed outward. Apart from important militarily strategic areas, the focus of its expansion has been on important investment areas and vital bases for raw materials and energy. For example, Western Europe is not only an important strategic area contested by the United States and the Soviet Union but also an important developed capitalist area. It has, since the end of the war, become an important base for investment and commodity sales controlled by the United States. Also, the Middle East, with its important strategic position and its rich deposits of oil resources, has also become one of the targets of frantic U.S. contention.

Apart from direct arms expansion, one prominent feature that marks how the United States contends is its providing foreign countries with economic and military aid in exchange for their participation in military and political groups controlled by the United States, or in exchange for military bases at the disposal of the United States, thus expanding its sphere of influence. According to statistics, from 1945 to 1971, the United States provided the whole world with \$149.6 billion worth of "economic aid" and "military aid,"

of which the NATO and SEATO countries accounted for 70 percent. With Japan, South Korea, and our country's Taiwan added, it would be 87 percent of the total. (UK London, the International Institute for Strategic Studies: "The Military Balance," 1974-1975, 1978-1979)

Second, arms expansion is a means for monopoly capitalists to "stimulate" economic growth and "relieve" an economic crisis. After the war, to "relieve" an economic crisis and "stimulate" economic growth, the United States, given the further intensification of fundamental capitalist contradictions, relied on state monopoly capitalism to energetically increase military spending and put the national economy on the path of militarization. Compared to other Western capitalist countries, the U.S. economy especially relies on a military economy in its development. This is also an important feature of postwar U.S. monopoly capitalism.

What is spent militarily can no longer be devoted to reproduction, but it can guarantee the maintenance and development of a colossal war industry. This also helps in increasing an "effective demand" for the means of production and means of subsistence and increasing employment opportunities--thus "stimulating" economic growth and "relieving" an economic crisis, to a certain degree. For example, during the U.S. war of aggression against Korea, the amount spent by the administration on purchases and labor services for military purposes (based on 1963 commodity prices) rose from \$20.7 billion in 1950 to \$65.1 billion in 1953, an increase of 210 percent. The GNP in the same period also rose by 20 percent. ([Fala majiang 3127 2139 7456 3068], USSR: "U.S. Militarism and the Economy," p 242) After the end of the war of aggression against Korea, given a drop in military spending and a drop in military orders, the 1953-1954 economic crisis broke out. During the period of crisis, industrial production dropped by 9.1 percent. At the height of the U.S. economy in the 1950's and 1960's, the fastest growing sectors were those industrial ones directly or indirectly related to military orders. At the end of the 1970's and in the early 1980's, a new economic crisis hit the United States. All sectors of industry were in a slump. Only the war industry was thriving. The spending of several hundred billion dollars on the military had a stimulating effect on the depressed U.S. economy that could not be overlooked. For example, the Chrysler Corporation was saved from the brink of bankruptcy by orders for M-1 tanks.

The development of military science and technology is first prompted by the need to contend for power. But military science can also be converted to civil uses, thus stimulating the development of civil industries. For example, electronics, atomic energy, jet passenger planes, and so forth were all developed on the basis of military technologies.

U.S. arms exports are substantial. From 1949 to 1977, the total value of U.S. arms exports to other countries reached as much as \$126 billion. Also according to a report by the U.S. Congress, the 1982-1983 U.S. share of the world arms sales market rose from 32 percent to 39 percent, reaching \$9,535,200,000. According to U.S. Department of Labor statistics, every \$1 billion worth of weapons exports can provide employment for 50,000 people. (SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, 5 December 1983, p 6) Undoubtedly, such substantial arms exports

have a definite effect on maintaining arms production and the growth of the whole economy and temporarily "relieving" the economic crisis.

First, arms expansion is dictated by the monopoly capitalists' desire to grab maximum profits. The increase in U.S. military spending after the war was, in the final analysis, aimed at enabling monopoly capitalists to secure maximum profits. To this end, the United States is, on the one hand, seeking hegemony abroad paving the way and creating conditions for the procurement of maximum profits. On the other hand, it is expanding its arms purchase program at home. U.S. private monopoly capital carries great strength, the "nationalized" economy relatively insignificant in the whole national economy. Therefore, state purchases have become an important way for U.S. monopoly capitalism to regulate the U.S. economy or an important way to guarantee monopoly profits. Viewed in the light of practices in other Western countries, this is also an important feature that marks postwar U.S. state monopoly capitalism. Of state purchases, those for military purposes represent the main part, generally accounting for around 80 percent. Only about 10 percent of U.S. purchases for military purposes are subject to open bidding, and 90 percent or so are placed on a contract basis through "consultations." Most of the latter are again handled along the lines of a system of bulk buying. This means entrusting everything from design, research, manufacture, and production to testing, to a big monopoly capitalist who, as a contractor, in turn engages other companies to perform work under subcontracts. Subcontracts may sometimes involve four or five parties. As far as the process of bidding for contracts is concerned, most of the military orders end up falling into the hands of a small number of big monopoly capitalists. Unlike products for civil use, military goods find a reliable market. The state can also provide [word illegible] advance research expenses, supply raw materials on a priority basis, and give various advantages in regard to taxation, and so forth. All these make for the procurement of maximum profits by big monopoly capitalists. The prices of arms are also often not based on the market and are mainly determined by monopoly capitalists and the state. On this, Lenin pointed out: "It is no longer 'pure' capitalism (which is a plain fact) with capitalists serving national defense or the state. It is instead a peculiar form of national economy. Pure capitalism means commodity production. Commodity production serves an unknown free market. Capitalists 'serving' national defense are entirely not 'serving' the market, and are instead 'serving' the fulfillment of state orders. This is even often done in order to obtain state loans." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, pp [numbers illegible]) Because there is no open market for the production of arms, competitive prices do not form. Thus, big arms dealers can take advantage of the opportunity of "arranging things through consultations" behind the scenes and corner the market. During World War II, the price of a U.S. aircraft carrier was \$55 million. Now it is \$2.5 billion. At that time, the price of a bomber was \$218,000. Now it is \$100 million. The price of an attack submarine was then \$4.7 million. Now it is \$300 million. Such an upward movement in arms prices has of course to do with the change in the structure and performance of weapons and with inflation. But it is chiefly a result of monopoly capitalists willfully raising prices to grab maximum profits. According to what was revealed in the 3 March issue of U.S. NEWSWEEK in 1971, after checking 146 arms orders, the General Accounting Office found that the pretax profits

of industrial companies throughout the country in 1969 reached 20.1 percent while those of the arms industry amounted to as much as 56.1 percent. In a survey of the profitability of 169 arms companies, U.S. Congressman William Proxmire found that the profits of 94 were more than 50 percent, of 49--100 percent, 22 had profits of more than 200 percent, and 3 more than 500 percent, while 1 alone had 2,000 percent. ((Kirkpatrick Sale) [kekepalike saier 2688 0344 1584 6849 0344 1049 1422] (U.S.): "Transfer of Power," Commercial-press, 1976 edition, p 31) Such huge profits derived from arms mean a steady flow of the people's money into monopoly capitalists' pockets. Just as Lenin said: "The capitalist economy serving 'war' (or an economy directly or indirectly related to the supply of military stores) means the practice of systematic stealing from the national coffers with legal protection." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 331) After the war, with the growth of U.S. military spending and the expansion of military supplies purchases, war production has become an important component of the U.S. economy. Now orders for military supplies from the Defense Department have reached 50 states, 5,000-plus cities and towns, and 76 industrial sectors. Enterprises and units representing one-third of the total throughout the country are involved in war production.

Such large-scale war production and an appropriate market inevitably produce a profound effect on the economy. But the "stimulating" effect of arms production on the U.S. economy can only be temporary. From the long-term point of view and from the viewpoint of its actual nature, it can only have a hindering and disruptive effect on social production, thus greatly adding to fundamental capitalist contradictions.

First, huge military spending is an important factor causing a trend toward "stagnation" and decline in U.S. production and the development of its technology. Colossal military spending has mainly been made possible by a reduction in expenses of a productive nature. For example, in the early part of the 1970's, of various industrial raw materials and fuels annually consumed for U.S. war production, magnesium accounted for three-fourths of total national consumption, wrought steel, stainless steel, and nickel one-half, electricity consumption for industrial purposes more than one-third, aluminum one-fifth, and petroleum more than one-third. Of scientific and technical personnel hired by war production departments, aeronautical engineers accounted for three-fifths of the national total, electrical engineers, mechanical engineers, and metallurgical engineers one-fifth, and skilled workers from one-tenth to one-fourth. More than half of the funds for scientific research and invention purposes were devoted to war production and national defense research projects. True, some of the research results can be converted to civil use. But most military research projects with limited use cannot be applied to the development of science and technology and production for civil purposes. ((Yepozhan) [yipujin 0122 2528 3160], USSR: "The Economic Aspect of the International Arms Trade," see SHIJIE JINGJI YICONG [WORLD ECONOMY TRANSLATIONS], No 2, 1984, pp 45-46) Therefore, substantial manpower and material and financial resources expended in this respect cannot be translated into means of production. Nor can they become means of subsistence. This is a big waste of human labor and social wealth. It also interferes with and disrupts the development of production and

technology. According to an estimate, every 1 billion of increased U.S. military spending means a reduction of \$290 million in the investment of fixed capital and thus a potential loss of \$65 million in output value in the growth of the U.S. economy. As far as the U.S. postwar economic growth rate is concerned, given increased military spending and the increased militarization of the national economy, the rate of economic growth has also been on the decline. In the 20 years from 1949 to 1968, the U.S. annual economic growth rate averaged 4 percent. Since the 1970's, the economic growth rate has obviously slowed down. In the 13 years from 1969 to 1981, it averaged 2.8 percent per year. The average rate of growth from 1979 to 1981 was only 1.7 percent. Of course, there are also other factors responsible for a drop in the economic growth rate.

Second, huge military spending is an important factor that adds to the imbalance in the economic development of imperialist countries. Lenin pointed out: "An imbalance in economic and political development is the absolute law of capitalism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 709) After the war, to consolidate its hegemonist rule, the United States kept increasing its military spending. This resulted in an appropriate slowdown in the U.S. economic growth rate and an appropriate drop in its economic "strength." On the contrary, taking advantage of such favorable conditions as being under the "U.S. nuclear umbrella," Japan and the FRG reduced their military spending. (For example, the percentage GNP going to military spending in 1971 for Japan was 0.9 percent and for the FRG 3.3 percent, while it was 7.1 percent for the United States.) Their capacity for domestic investment was raised, allowing also a relatively quick growth of production and an appropriate increase in economic "strength." For 1955-1977 the U.S. share in the world GNP dropped from 36.3 percent to 23.7 percent, while Japan's rose from 2.2 percent to 8.7 percent, and the FRG's from 3.9 percent to 10.5 percent. The U.S. percentage of the total world trade volume for 1950-1973 dropped from 18.3 percent to 12.1 percent, while Japan's rose from 1.5 percent to 8.3 percent and the FRG's from 3.6 percent to 12 percent.

Third, huge military spending has aggravated the financial situation. After the war, with an increase in U.S. military spending, the financial deficit kept swelling. In the 38 years from 1946 to 1983, the number of years marked by the appearance of a deficit reached as high as 30. Especially since the 1970's, there has been red ink every year, with an accumulated deficit of \$327.3 billion in 10 years, 7.3 times that in the 1960's and 27 times that in the 1950's. From 1946 to 1980, the accumulated total deficit reached as much as \$424.7 billion. Since Reagan's assumption of office in 1981, due to a sharp increase in military spending, the financial deficit also reached an unprecedented height. The financial deficit in 1982 was \$110.7 billion and that in 1983 came close to \$200 billion (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 December 1983, p 7), setting the highest record in history.

How can the financial deficit be made up? There are no other alternatives to reliance on taxation, indebtedness, or issuing banknotes. Of these three ways, the main one is taxation. So increased military spending means an increase in taxes. There are various kinds of U.S. taxes, with tax rates growing at a shocking rate. But 80 percent of taxes come from personal income

taxes. The total amount of personal income taxes levied in 1947 was \$17.93 billion. It rose to \$153.1 billion in 1977, an increase of 7.5 times. After Reagan entered the White House in 1981, a program calling for a 25 percent reduction in taxes in 3 years was adopted. But given a sharp increase in military spending and financial deficits, a program calling for \$98.3 billion in increased taxes in 3 years was also adopted. This is the biggest U.S. taxation program in peacetime. Now taxes on middle-income families account for 30-40 percent of U.S. income, a percentage higher than in the past few years. Apart from increasing taxes, the U.S. administration has also tried to make up its deficits by floating more government bonds. The U.S. postwar national debt was \$256.9 billion in 1950, \$290.9 billion in 1960, and \$382.6 billion in 1970. In 1981, it passed the \$1,000 billion mark, reaching \$1,033.9 billion. After Reagan's assumption of office, with a big increase in military spending, deficits also ballooned. The U.S. national debt in 1980 was \$914.3 billion. It reached \$1,590 billion in 1984. The issuance of banknotes is another way for the U.S. administration to meet deficits. From 1950 to 1978, total U.S. industrial output value doubled, but the currency increased 7.5 times. Therefore, the rate of inflation kept rising. It was 2 percent in the 1950's, 2.3 percent in the 1960's, and 7.1 percent in the 1970's.

Fourth, huge military spending has led to the intensification of polarization and the deepening of the economic crisis. The burden of military spending is finally shifted onto the masses of workers. It is actually a redistribution of national income in favor of capitalists, thus adding to the polarization of the United States. In 1953, there were 27,000 rich people with more than \$1 million in the United States. The number rose to 67,000 in 1962 and 200,000 in 1970. It again rose to 520,000 in 1979. Simultaneously with the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number of monopoly capitalists, the masses of laboring people have become increasingly poor. According to official U.S. statistics, 24.7 million people in 1972 lived below the "poverty line" (an annual income below \$6,700), representing 11.6 percent of the national population. Between 1981 and 1982, the number of poverty-ridden people increased by 2.6 million. The total accounted for 15 percent of the national population. "Anti-crisis" measures like increased military spending can only temporarily delay or relieve the economic crisis. They cannot basically do away with an economic crisis. Military spending ultimately adds to the burden on the laboring people, thus intensifying contradictions between production and consumption. Thus, from a long-term point of view, the U.S. economic crisis is further deepened, with a trend toward a shortened cycle.

CSO: 4005/861

24 May 1985

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO PRINTS 1955 LETTER OF ZHOU ENLAI TO DENG YINGCHAO

HK260125 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 85 p 1

[Letter from Comrade Zhou Enlai to Comrade Deng Yingchao on eve of the Bandung Conference]

[Text] Central Committee Party Document Research Center's note: To mark the 30th anniversary of the convening of the Bandung Conference, we make public here Comrade Zhou Enlai's letter to Comrade Deng Yingchao, with the latter's consent. It was mentioned in the letter that "a diplomatic war can be as dangerous as actual combat on the battlefield. Likewise, we should not fight it without good preparations. We should take everything into consideration in all undertakings, and adopt action only after collective discussion and decision." This is still of practical significance.

Dear Chao,

Received your letter. Thanks for your kindness and advice. Here I return the letter to you lest it should be lost. I will be all the more meticulous and work still harder, drawing a lesson. A diplomatic war can be as dangerous as actual combat on the battlefield. Likewise, we should not fight it without good preparations. We should take everything into consideration in all our undertakings, and adopt action only after collective discussion and decision. Don't worry. I'll be seeing you.

Zhou Enlai

Deng Yingchao's appended note:

This short letter was addressed to me by Comrade Zhou Enlai on the eve of the Bandung Conference. China had no large aircraft in 1955, and had to hire one from India, namely the "Kashmir Princess." The plane was waiting in Hong Kong. At that time, Chiang Kai-shek special agents from Taiwan intended to murder Comrade Enlai. However, Comrade Enlai failed to arrive in Hong Kong to take this plane because of other business he had to attend to. Instead, an advance group of staff were on board the plane. It exploded in mid-air before reaching

Jakarta. Three members of the crew survived, but the staff of the Chinese delegation Shi Zhiang, Li Zhaoji, and Zhong Buyun, and XINHUA reporters Sun Jiantu, Huang Zhuoei, Du Hong, Li Ping, and Hao Fengge were sacrificed. Among those who were sacrificed were five members of the Indian plane crew and three other foreign comrades. They were: Vuong Minh Phuong, a worker of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Staletz [2448 1044 0411 5412], reporter of TRYBUNA LUDU, organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; and Fritz Jensen, reporter of VOLKSSTIMME, organ of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, who liked being called by his Chinese name Ye Feide. After the accident took place, Comrade Enlai took another hired plane and arrived in Jakarta via Rangoon. Comrade Enlai received my letter when he was in Kunming; and the letter published here was his answer to mine.

CSO: 4005/860

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RISE OF NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 6, 11 Feb 85 pp 44-45

[Article by Li Rui]2621 6904]: "Problems of Promoting The New Generation"]

[Text] A comrade from the Young Cadre Bureau of the Organization Department of the party Central Committee gave me a copy of a survey report, "The Rise of a New Generation of Young People and Their Frustrations." It is a profile on the 128 delegates to the "Young Chinese Economic and Scientific Workers Symposium" held in Zhejiang last September.

The delegates were selected from among 1,300 applicants who submitted papers. Selection was based entirely on the papers, disregarding the applicants' formal education and titles. To say that the new generation has "risen" certainly coincides with the facts. One of the delegates' characteristics is their surprising youthfulness, their average age being 34. It was originally estimated that the successful applicants would mostly consist of older college graduates, the classes of 1966 through 1970. In fact, they made up only 20 percent of the delegates, while 75 percent were young people who were attending elementary and high school when the "Cultural Revolution" broke out. The backbone of the symposium, or 40 percent of the delegates, comprised people who graduated from high school from 1966 through 1971.

Second, they are genuinely well trained, combining theoretical knowledge with practical experience. Over 80 percent of the delegates are graduate students or college graduates. They are serious students of Marxist economic theories, have a firm grounding in basic knowledge and a solid grasp of their own specialties, and are well-informed about developments at home and abroad. Many of them impressed the symposium with their agile minds, fresh viewpoints and profound, incisive comments, particularly on macroeconomics, the open door policy and basic theories. Self-educated people, mostly from grassroots institutions, accounted for 15 percent of the participants. All of them showed a close integration between theory and practice, as demonstrated by the high degree of applicability of their suggestions and plans. In this respect, they outshone many graduate students, and their presence animated the two group discussions on cities and industries.

Their third characteristic is their political steadfastness and dedication to their work. Among the 101 people surveyed, 55 percent are party members, higher than the percentage among the nation's cadres at large and three times that among technical cadres. Contrary to original expectations, non-party delegates showed an intense desire to join the party.

In my article, "Use and Promote the New Generation As Soon As Possible," (RENMIN RIBAO, 24 March 1984) I have analyzed the conditions of college graduates, classes of 1966 through 1970. On the whole, their expertise and integrity have received social recognition. The survey report I have in hand concentrates on the circumstances of young people who graduated from high school from 1966 through 1971). Their learning, living and working conditions were far inferior to those of their college counterparts, and they now find themselves at the basic social level. Their experiences are extremely diverse. When they were still adolescents knowing little about the ways of the world, they were sent to work in factories, in the countryside, and in mountain areas. Others settled in rural areas, joined the production and construction corps, or mingled with all kinds of "shady characters." Most had served their time in some form of production work or as popsicle vendors and porters. While their experiences vary, they are all survivors of hard times who have steeled themselves through defeat and suffering. They are in close touch with the masses and have therefore acquired a deep understanding of life at the grassroots. They feel strongly that some social maladies (including those which affect their personal circumstances) must be reformed, and there is a sense of urgency about them. Certainly the classes of 1966 through 1971 embrace a large and diverse group of people. While a minority had their careers derailed, others emerged stronger from their tribulations and went on to become the backbone of the cadres at the basic level. Yet another small group consists of ambitious achievers who thrive on adversity. The 40 percent of the delegates at the symposium who are high school graduates can be described as the cream of the crop of their generation. Independent thinkers with an innovative spirit, they have delved into a variety of subjects and acquired a wide range of knowledge. In their attitude towards the socialist road and party leadership, they have gone through the dialectical historical process of trust - extreme skepticism - reaffirmed trust. Delegates to the symposium who graduated from elementary school in the early years of the "Cultural Revolution" resembled these secondary school graduates in the way they grew up.

The above description serves as a footnote to the repeated pleas by leading cadres on the party Central Committee that we must boldly use and promote young people in their 30's and 40's. One would have thought that at least the achievements and contributions of these outstanding representatives of their generation would be recognized by society and their rise given adequate attention by leaders and organization and personnel departments at all levels. But the facts tell a different story.

Of the 101 people who responded to a written questionnaire, 46 said they were not thought of highly and that their expertise and talents were not fully used. Another 24 reported that their research was suppressed and attacked to various degrees. The chairman of an economic commission from a county in Shanxi wrote, "Some leaders are not supportive. They believe that research is plagiarism and that the person who conducts job-related research in his spare time is not attending to his proper duties but only wants to be in the limelight." If such treatment can be meted out to a "senior cadre" in a county, it takes little imagination to picture the circumstances of ordinary cadres at the grassroots level. Delegates from departments under the Central Committee and ministries and commissions under the State Council also told of being attacked and censured. Several key cadres on the preparatory committee of the symposium, for instance, said that they could not give full play to their talents in their units and that their research achievements are not valued as highly as they should, and expressed a desire to be transferred to other units. In the survey, many people complained that while their talents were readily used, the importance of personnel training and development was overlooked. There were many others who would like to see more training opportunities and academic exchanges, pointing to difficulties they came across when they applied to go abroad to study, tried to get their works published or appraised a particular title.

We are in a rapidly changing world. The economy, in particular, is going through unprecedented changes. We must use and promote the new people, and soon, so that we can achieve the "four transformations" of leading cadres at all levels and position ourselves at the forefront of the current of our times and usher in the great transformation. By new people, I mean pioneer types who have liberated their ideas and are committed to reform; in other words, cadres capable of achieving a breakthrough. Right now, these cadres are now being promoted. Even when they are promoted, they are not given the responsibility to expedite their development. The survey report confirms that this set of circumstances can be ascribed to the leaders. Some leaders do not fully appreciate the urgency of the situation, some are still equivocal about reform, some are handicapped by their own limited knowledge and experience, some are short-sighted, and some are so used to "inbreeding" that they have nothing but contempt for pioneers. One delegate, a cadre from a municipal economic commission, wrote, "Our leaders know nothing about management, administration or technology. Their methods are those of small-scale production. Whenever reform threatens to affect the interests of some leaders, even the best scheme becomes unacceptable."

There are also larger social reasons, such as lingering "Leftist" influences and outdated practices. For instance, while people no longer even pay lip service to the rule of "seniority," young cadres still lose out to elderly and middle-aged cadres when it comes to rectifying and selecting cadres for promotion: there is a reluctance to deviate from the "seniority" rule. Leaders, demanding perfection, always

descend upon a person's "minor defects," ignoring his more important aspects and strong points. They are particularly leery of competent people who nevertheless have their shortcomings. Moreover, there is a preference for yes men, people "who try never to offend anybody" and benign and uncontentious types. In effect, this means incompetents and do-nothings. There is another widespread problem: jealousy and envy of capable and upright people, the evil legacy of prolonged feudalism and a society dominated by a small-scale peasant economy. This problem exists not only in most leading organizations and cadre contingents, but also in academic circles and within the intelligentsia. After all, scholars have scorned one another from time immemorial. We as a nation are steeped in Confucian ideas. We stress the doctrine of the mean, refrain from taking the lead in anything and subscribe to the notion that "the exposed rafter rots first." If a person is not promoted, he is left in peace. Once he is so favored, however, he becomes the center of a maelstrom of groundless accusations and malicious rumors. Outstanding people who dare to act and assume responsibility are often not promoted on account of "the opinions of the masses." Some are promoted only to be demoted later. Wuda Lang, the diminutive figure in ancient Chinese folklore, refused to do business with anyone taller than he. In their jealousy of cadres of ability and integrity, many people are just like Wuda Lang. While others have talent and expertise, they fall back on their party membership and power. Their fear is that once an able person is admitted into the party or gets promoted, he will rise higher than or even replace them.

According to Comrade Deng Xiaopeng, the key is Provision 9: "Use the new generation and develop a great contingent of cadres to manage the socialist economy." The reform of the economic system and the development of the national economy urgently require an army of managerial experts, particularly enterprise management cadres, who have mastered modern economics and technology, are infused with the spirit of reform, and have the courage to innovate and open up a new phase. The "Young Chinese Economic and Scientific Workers Symposium" in Hangzhou fully demonstrates that the nation is harvesting a bumper crop of fine personnel. There are hundreds of thousands of enterprises nationwide. In addition, collective enterprises and rural and township enterprises, where a lot of young experts can be found, are mushrooming all over the country. Not long ago, the central committee of the Communist Youth League of China convened the "Young Active Reform Elements Seminar," where the youngest participant was 22, the oldest, 36. Their comments mostly echo those in the survey report. They are firmly committed to reform and have ideas and opinions. One can already detect a sparkle of talent in them. But the problem is that they still lack the authority which is due them, with the result that their work is much hindered. The seminar also brought to light one interesting phenomenon. In recent years, northern Shanxi has made rapid economic progress because of the "new zone." Economic development has been slower in southern Shanxi, due to the "old zone." "Old zone" refers to elderly cadres and a dearth of newly promoted cadres. Even those promoted are not given a chance to make full use of their expertise. Isn't this observation food for thought?

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROMOTION OF NEW GENERATION URGED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 8, 25 Feb 85 p 46

[Article by Li Rui [2621 6904]: "The Voice of The New Generation"]

[Text] I recently received a letter from a municipal leader, a newly promoted middle-aged cadre. He wrote, "Two things struck me most during my almost 2 years in the municipality. First, it is really not easy to be a latter-day Bao Le. To discover, train and support comrades younger than oneself is very, even extremely, difficult as it goes against the grain of decades of 'Leftist' habits and various widespread prejudices. In contrast, it is ever so easy to neglect, hold back or thwart younger comrades, particularly those who quietly immerse themselves in hard work and have little exposure. Personally I was deprived of 16 years of my life after I turned 30, so I am keenly aware of the pain of not being given a chance to serve my country despite my dedication. As soon as I come across a young and promising comrade whose talent is overlooked, I become so restless that I cannot sleep at night. Although cadre work is not my responsibility, I will still 'meddle' in it. Second, it is even more difficult to carry out reform. Ever since our batch of newly promoted cadres assumed duty in this city, we insist on working 10 hours a day, forgo almost all holidays and give up family life (we all stay in unit dormitories and lunch and dine in the cafeterias of our departments). Certainly not everybody in the group is equally competent, but all of us really want to give our best and do a good job. Yet every time we try to do things in a slightly different way, we are almost certain to be criticized. We build a road, and somebody protests that trees should not be cut down. We renovate a building, and they complain this will ruin the appearance of the city. We negotiate a project with a foreign businessman, and people suggest we are 'beggars who cannot afford to be choosers.' We request that authority be delegated to enterprises and that administrative companies be abolished; to some, this is 'power struggle'... When it comes to selecting a person to fill a particular slot, there are even greater controversy and intervention. There are times when I myself cannot help wondering whether it might not be better to stick to old methods, pass the buck, adopt a wait-and-see attitude and simply do nothing and leave everybody alone."

This comrade and I are old acquaintances, so he dared to confide in me. As a concrete personnel example, his letter cites one young writer who was forced to quit his job during the "campaign against spiritual pollution" when life was made very unpleasant for him. This young writer had been protected by my friend before.

The idea of promoting the new generation has clearly borne fruits in recent years; we see a host of pioneers everywhere we look. But it is easy to overestimate the extent of this phenomenon, as the letter shows. We are not talking about some small town in the hinterland. Earlier on, I had heard rumors about the person who wrote the letter, which were found to be groundless after thorough investigations. As this comrade said, reform is an uphill battle, which requires, first of all, that the prospective reformer have the courage of his conviction. To carry out reform, we must select people who are both courageous and knowledgeable. Courage flows from knowledge. (A bold but ignorant person is a mere boor). On the other hand, a knowledgeable but gutless person (that is, a pedant) will not fit the bill either. But since we have been doing things the same old way for a long time, a little boldness (accompanied by the inevitable occasional mistake) is enough to ruffle a lot of feathers. The four modernizations will take two or three generations of experts. To me, the generation now coming into its own (people in their 30's, 40's and early 50's) is most vital because it is this generation which is truly carrying forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. They were schooled in traditional revolutionary education, suffered many setbacks, had both positive and negative experience and appreciate fine traditional ways. They know what to cherish, what to loath, what to inherit and what to discard. Today, the main mission of all elderly cadres is to look hard to identify these people, boldly give them important assignments, fully support them, conscientiously assist them, and have the courage to hand over responsibility to them. Elderly cadres should not continue to cling to power and refuse to let go. Otherwise, the four modernizations will be doomed, and so will our race and our nation. Have elderly cadres really come round to this point of view? Those who have not had better do so, because time is not on their side. Right now rural areas are developing rapidly, as are collective enterprises which have done away with old conventions and restrictions. If you fail to use your technical personnel properly, you will soon lose them to other people. The problem is that in selecting and promoting staff, some elderly cadres show an exclusive preference for yes men and people who are long on steadiness but short on pioneering spirit. Hence this saying, "Better to have obedient people than the four transformations."

When all is said and done, however, there is no turning back the clock. After the 1980's, China is not going to take the road back. When the new generation has established itself, it will press ahead bravely and hack out a new way--the Chinese way to socialism. I am fully confident that this will come to pass. Listen to what my friend says in his last paragraph:

"But we will neither retreat nor lose heart. Those days are over when right and wrong were mistaken for each other. With such a good party Central Committee and such an enlightened, correct line, I am fully convinced that our party and people have a bright future. Personally, I fear nothing--not even death, not to mention losing my official position. A fierce struggle seems inevitable as we gear up for party rectification to bring about reform, eliminate "Leftist" pernicious influences, select the 'third echelon' and weed out the 'three kinds of people.' But, believe me, I will press ahead relentlessly."

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CSO: 4005/737

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO EDITORIAL HAILS INHERITANCE LAW

HK290322 Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 15 Apr 85 p 1

[Editorial: "The Inheritance Law Is an Important Civil Law"]

[Text] After serious deliberations and revisions, the PRC inheritance law was officially adopted on 10 April 1984 by the Third Session of the Sixth NPC. The NPC session has also decided to promulgate the law for implementation. This is an important civil law which accords with the common aspirations of the people and with the national conditions. Its birth marks another gratifying major achievement in the development of our country's socialist legal system.

Inheritance is a major issue concerning every household and involving everyone, male or female, old or young. This is explicitly stipulated in our country's constitution: "The state protects by law the right of citizens to inherit private property." This is the legislative basis on which the inheritance law has been formulated. Our country's economic system is a socialist economic system based on socialist public ownership. It permits the coexistence of various economic forms and different ways of doing business. The citizens' daily increasing private property needs to be realistically protected by the state law. In our country, the households are currently consumer units and assume the responsibilities of supporting the old and rearing the young. Many of them also undertake the tasks of production. Formulating the inheritance law to protect the right to inherit is not only conducive to the consolidation and development of socialist household relations, but is also an objective demand for developing production and implementing the policy of the party and state for enriching the people. Marxists do not always oppose the right to inherit. We oppose the right to inherit which is passed on from generation to generation by exploitative means, as in a society under private ownership. However, we firmly protect the right of citizens of our country to inherit lawful private property. Protecting the citizens' right to inherit actually means protecting the citizens' work income and protecting the households' virtues of unity and mutual assistance and of supporting the old and rearing the young. It also means protecting the enthusiasm for developing production and protecting the policy of the party and state on enriching the people. This is the basis on which we started to formulate the inheritance law.

With socialist principles running through it, the inheritance law of our country is one which differs in nature from the inheritance laws of capitalist countries. It is an inheritance law of the socialist type and which has Chinese characteristics. It is based on the socialist public ownership system, upholds the principle of equality between men and women, fully reflects the spirit of supporting the old and rearing the young, and has unity and mutual accommodation as its core, thus manifesting clear-cut socialist characteristics.

The inheritance law is an important civil law specifying the norms for the inheritance of property. We should seriously study it and extensively publicize it, so that it will be known to everyone and every household and implemented throughout the country. It is necessary to teach the citizens, the youths in particular, to correctly exercise the right to inherit, seriously fulfill the obligations regarding inheritance, and pay attention to carrying forward the communist style and developing the socialist spiritual civilization. Inheriting what our forefathers gained through labor is mainly for the purpose of keeping their gains as a memento and carrying forward the cause of our forefathers, and is not for the purpose of making a fortune. Therefore, in no way should uncivilized incidents such as squabbles between brothers and internal strife among family members over legacies be allowed to take place. The inheritance law is not only the code of conduct which every citizen must observe in handling problems of inheriting private property, but also the basis and standard for the people's court of justice in correctly settling disputes over the inheritance of private property. Judicial departments at various levels, especially the people's courts, must seriously study and master the articles, stipulations, and spiritual essence of the inheritance law, so that they can correctly apply the law in handling the cases of inheriting private property and promptly mediate disputes of the people. The promulgation and implementation of the inheritance law will surely bring the inheritance of private property in our country into the orbit of rule by law, give impetus to the fine tradition of supporting the old and rearing the young, promote unity and mutual assistance between family members, reinforce social stability, and arouse all positive factors to propel the vigorous development of the socialist modern economy!

CSO: 4005/860

24 May 1985

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTELLECTUALS, MANAGERS SOUGHT AS LABOR MODELS

OW011301 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0744 GMT 29 Apr 85

[By reporter Wu Jincai]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Apr (XINHUA)--According to statistics compiled by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, over 13,300 staff personnel and workers have been awarded the honorable titles of national labor model or advanced producer since the founding of the People's Republic.

According to incomplete figures, at present, about 20 percent of staff and workers of the nation's total labor force have been awarded the honorable titles of labor model or advanced producer by local units at various levels at one time or another. Each year, over 10 million staff and workers are rated as advanced producers at and above the plant level. This formidable force of labor models plays a tremendous role in inspiring the masses to work harder, promote large-scale labor emulation, and raise production levels, a fact which statistics do not fully reveal.

In recent years, a new concept has emerged in selecting labor models, which is, whoever makes an outstanding contribution to the four modernizations is a labor model. A most important change is that while "buffalo-type" labor models who can bear great hardships and stand extremely hard work are being continuously encouraged, more importantly, the model role of intellectuals and enterprising manager-type personnel has been emphasized. This typical change of our times has enabled some intellectuals who were persecuted by extreme "left" elements in the past and talented managers who were never in favor in the past to become respected labor models. Of the more than 400 labor models who came from various localities to attend the national day celebrations in Beijing last year, a large number were intellectuals and another 10 percent were plant directors, plant managers, or plant party committee secretaries.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN YUN WRITES INSCRIPTION FOR HARBIN CHILDREN'S THEATER

SK020428 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 1 May 85

[Text] This morning, the Harbin City Trade Union Council held a ceremony in front of the Harbin City Children's Theater to unveil the board inscribed with Chen Yun's inscription, reading "The Site of the Sixth National Workers' Rally."

At 1000 this morning, the unveiling ceremony opened. Liang Yande, director of the Harbin City Trade Union Council, spoke at the ceremony. He said: Harbin is a city with glorious revolutionary tradition. From 1 to 22 August 1948, the Sixth National Workers' Rally was ceremoniously held in Harbin City, the capital of the Northeast Liberated Area. The site of that rally was the present Harbin City Children's Theater. Attending the rally were 518 representatives of various liberated areas and of various areas controlled by the Kuomintang at that time. At that rally, Comrade Chen Yun was elected chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and delivered a report on the tasks for the workers' movement. That rally played an extremely important role for mobilizing all workers and staff members in the country to vigorously develop production, to support China's war of liberation, and to strive for all-round victory.

To mark that rally, the Harbin City Trade Union Council invited Chen Yun, standing committee member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, to write an inscription for the site of the Sixth National Workers' Rally, and then fixed the board with Chen Yun's inscription to the wall of the Harbin City Children's Theater. Through this activity, the vast number of workers and staff members will be educated once more with the revolutionary tradition.

Amid the popping of firecrackers, Wang Rensheng, deputy secretary of the Harbin City CPC Committee, unveiled the board. Made of marble, and with a length of 800 centimeters and a width of 650 centimeters, this board was inscribed with Chen Yun's inscription, reading "The Site of the Sixth National Workers' Rally." Attending the unveiling ceremony were responsible comrades of the Provincial and the Harbin City Trade Union Councils; representatives of the Sixth National Workers' Rally; and more than 500 trade union cadres.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHOU YANG, XIA YAN MARK DRAMATIST'S ANNIVERSARY

OW281330 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1505 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Beijing, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Personages of the capital's literary and art circles met at the Hall of the CPPCC National Committee Building today to mark the 90th anniversary of the birthday of Hong Shen [3163 3234], a precursor of China's modern drama and motion pictures.

In a letter sent to the meeting, Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, said: Comrade Hong Shen was a trailblazer of Chinese drama and an exceptional playwright, director, educator in theatrical work, he was a movie artist and one of the earliest pioneers of cultural exchange between history of the modern Chinese theater. We should do a good job in summing up his experiences and carry out academic research on his works.

Zhou Yang said in his letter: I hope young theatrical and movie workers will emulate Comrade Hong Shen's high patriotism, his ardent love for the party and socialism, and his unswerving revolutionary will. I think this is the fundamental significance in commemorating him today.

In their written messages, Xia Yan and Yang Hansheng, good friends of the late Hong Shen and vice chairmen of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, shared their memories of the fighting course they had traversed with Hong Shen.

Xia Yan, Liao Mosha, Cao Yu, Zhou Weizhi, Jiang Chunfang, Liu Housheng, Ma Yanxiang, Wu Xue, as well as Hong Shen's widow Chang Qingzhen and his daughter Hong Tong, attended the memorial meeting.

The memorial meeting was cosponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the cultural group of the CPPCC National Committee, the Chinese Dramatists Association, the Chinese Film Artists Association, the China Youth Art Theater, and the drama school under the Chinese Arts Institute.

CSO: 4005/860

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO DISCUSSES 'SELECTED WORKS OF DONG BIWU'

HK260923 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Wu Dayu [0702 1129 5038], Ma Hongru [7456 7703 0320], and Liu Tingxiao [0491 1694 0879]: "Lofty Morals, Profound Thoughts--Studying 'Selected Works of Dong Biwu'"]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Dong Biwu" has been published.

The "Selected Works of Dong Biwu" has substantial content, and contains important articles which profoundly describe how Comrade Dong Biwu made use of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism over the past 60 years or so during the Chinese revolution, and proceeded from reality in China to deal with many important problems arising in the Chinese revolution, and especially the building of political power under the people's democratic dictatorship, the building of the legal system, the building of the party, the problems of the united front, and others. It enriches the content of Mao Zedong Thought, and is a valuable asset of the party and the people. After reading the "Selected Works," we can understand from various aspects the glorious career of the Chinese revolution, some important experiences drawn from various revolutionary economic stages, and the lofty moral character of Comrade Dong Biwu of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality on the basis of scientific analysis, serving the people wholeheartedly, and being a willing public servant of the people.

During his long-term revolutionary practice, Comrade Dong Biwu always attached importance to the building of revolutionary state power. Articles such as "Lead the Government Work in a Better Way," "On the Problem of State Power Under the New Democracy," "Strengthen the Work of the People's Representative Conferences," "Letters to the CPC Central Committee and Chairman Mao Zedong on the Building of County and Township Political Power," and others are typical articles on the building of state power. In these articles, he repeatedly stressed that after we, the communists, had succeeded in leading the people of the whole country to win victory in the revolution, we should build the new state power in accordance with the will of the people. In other words, we should build the people's democratic dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance, which was led by the proletariat (through the Communist Party) and included democratic and patriotic personages. In the meantime, we should safeguard, consolidate, develop, and build this state

power well, and truly enable the people to become the masters of their own affairs, and to handle the important affairs of the state.

To ensure that the people could truly enjoy their own democracy and freedom, Comrade Dong Biwu stressed that the people's democracy and freedom should be embodied in a proper form, and that they should be institutionalized and legalized. This form was the system of people's congresses. The people's congresses decided the guiding principles and policies of the state, the administrative programs, and selection of persons for government organs, and examined and supervised the work of government functionaries. The system of people's congresses was the basic system of our country. Therefore, the most important task of the building of state power was to establish and constantly improve the system of people's congresses so that the power of the people of being the masters of their own affairs and handling the important affairs of the state could be ensured. Comrade Dong Biwu's purpose in delivering his speech "Strengthen the Work of the People's Representative Conferences" at the first meeting of county magistrates in north China was to remove various kinds of ideological obstacles, to enhance the understanding of the people, and cadres in particular, and to improve the system of people's congresses as early as possible.

To ensure that people's congresses at all levels could exercise their functions and powers, Comrade Dong Biwu repeatedly emphasized that we should do well in selecting people's deputies at various levels, pursue democratic centralism, give full play to democracy, and convene people's congresses well. He said: In places where democracy has been truly carried forward, all important matters are submitted to the people's congress or people's representative conference for discussion at meetings or small group meetings, and criticism and self-criticism are fully conducted, the enthusiasm and initiative of the people in those places can be fully brought into play, the work of the government is full of vigor, and the mistakes of bureaucratism can be avoided, or minimized. Comrade Dong Biwu time and again criticized those places which failed to convene people's congresses well. He seriously pointed out that any move which weakened the system of people's congresses was wrong, and that it was not permissible.

Comrade Dong Biwu frequently pointed out: Correctly handling the relations between the party and the organs of state power is an important issue in the building of state power. He maintained that strengthening the party leadership over the organs of state power was a firm and unshakable basic principle which should be resolutely implemented. However, the party was not allowed to be directly involved in the administration of state affairs. The party should not take on what ought to be done by organs of state power because it exercised leadership over them. He said: "Party leadership over organs of state power should be understood as strengthening the functions of the organs of state power through party leadership so that they can play their role in exercising their state power." Only in so doing can we ensure that the organs of state power work independently and effectively. Only in so doing can the party concentrate its efforts to strengthen its leadership over the work of formulating important guiding principles and policies.

Comrade Dong Biwu made great contributions to the building of the legal system. He used the Marxist concepts of state and law to write most important representative works to solve the problems arising in the building of the Chinese legal system. These works included "On the Party Ideological Work in the Fields of Politics and Law," "Judicial Work Should Serve Economic Construction," "Further Strengthening the Legal System of the People's Democracy To Protect Socialist Construction," "Correctly Differentiate the Two Kinds of Contradictions To Do Judicial Work Well," "Sum Up Experiences in a Practical Way To Do Political and Legal Work Still Better," and others. He time and again expounded profoundly on the utmost importance of strengthening the building of the legal system. He explicitly pointed out: "Without a legal system, a state cannot be called a state," "after mankind has developed civilized society, the legal system should be regarded as an important content of civilization. Although it is not the only content, it is an important content." Therefore, after the proletariat has succeeded in leading the people to seize state power, it should rapidly establish its legal system to protect its own interests, and to promote and safeguard socialist construction.

On the eve of carrying out full-scale socialist construction in our country, in view of the fact that at that time the building of the legal system was not yet complete, and that some people failed to attach importance to and observe the legal system of the state, in his speech delivered at the eighth party congress, Comrade Dong Biwu stressed: "Going about things according to law is a key link in strengthening the legal system of the people's democracy." He said there were two aspects involved in the process of going about things according to law: First, there should be law which we could go by; and second, once there was a law we should abide by it. There should be law which we can abide by. This means that proceeding from practical reality in our country, we should sum up our experience and draw beneficial experiences from history and other countries to enact our own necessary laws and regulations as early as possible. Comrade Dong Biwu pointed out: "Judging from the need for the building of the legal system of the state, and its objective possibility, the legal system should be gradually completed. If we let the phenomenon of an incomplete legal system continue to exist, and fail to improve it for a long time, this cannot but be regarded as a serious problem." Once there is a law, we must abide by it. This means that once laws are stipulated in explicit terms, we should truly abide by them, and go about things in accordance with them. In particular, all judicial organs must strictly abide by laws. They are not allowed to violate laws. Comrade Dong Biwu made a historical analysis of the phenomenon of failing to attach importance to and observe the legal system of the state. He said that it was understandable that before the liberation the laboring people were extremely hostile to and distrusted all reactionary laws. However, if this state of mind continued unchanged after the victory of the revolution, this would be a very bad phenomenon which should be got rid of. If we failed to adopt effective measures to get rid of it, and put the work off until the future, this would bring greater harm to our socialist undertaking. Therefore, we should pay attention to providing people with ideological education in the legal system so as to help them foster the idea of abiding by the law. To educate people so that they abide by the law, party members and cadres

should set a good example. Comrade Dong Biwu repeatedly stressed that party members and state cadres should become models of abiding by the law. On various occasions he seriously criticized those who thought that the law was only used to control the people, and that they could place themselves above the law. As for those who disregarded and violated the state laws, Comrade Dong Biwu maintained that "they must be legally accountable regardless of their present high positions and previous great contributions."

Since the establishment of the united front in 1924 based on the cooperation between the KMT and CPC, Comrade Dong Biwu had persistently devoted himself to the united front work of the party. He resolutely implemented the party guiding principles and policies, integrating the strong sense of discipline of the proletariat with necessary flexibility. While adhering to the principle of independence and initiative in the united front, he united with all those forces that could be united with. In his article entitled "Exclusiveness of Sectarianism in the Relations Between the Party and Nonparty People," he earnestly told party members that at all times party members were in a small minority among the masses. If they failed to unite with nonparty people, the party could not make progress. They should overcome sectarian tendencies of narrowmindedness and arrogance, and learn from nonparty people. In the article "Some Problems in the Present United Front," Comrade Dong Biwu explicitly stressed that after the victory of the revolution, the united front was still one of the basic policies which would determine the success or failure of the party cause. He gave many profound expositions and put forward a number of remarkable ideas on ways to develop and expand the united front. He said: We should establish the united front according to the most basic revolutionary viewpoint. We should have our eyes on political unity, and seek common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. We must be highly principled to win over various allies step by step, and adhere to the principle of both unity and struggle in a flexible way. The purpose in carrying out struggle is to promote unity, but unity does not mean leniency. The main method for carrying out the so-called struggle is education and persuasion. We should be good at persuading people. We should advance reasons or use language which they can easily understand. We should avoid copying mechanically and using indiscriminately Marxist phrases. Otherwise, people will find it difficult to accept them. Comrade Dong Biwu's exposition of the united front was the generalization of his personal experiences of carrying out united front work for many years.

Comrade Dong Biwu also wrote articles on the building of the party, financial and economic work, science and education, and so on. He put forward many profound views on these aspects. For example, 38 years ago, his penetrating analysis of the disadvantages suffered by party, government, and military organs which were engaged in commercial activities really drove the point home. It is still of practical significance to our present endeavor to curb unhealthy trends of a similar kind.

Comrade Dong Biwu worked for the happiness of the people throughout his life. In his later years, although he no longer took on any actual leading work, he always showed concern for various problems which were connected with the national economy and the people's livelihood, such as raising castor silkworms,

production of gold, use of marsh gas, planting trees, and so on. People might easily neglect these problems. In particular, he devoted painstaking efforts to the work of planting trees. The article "Promote Afforestation and Make the Country Green" vividly shows how Comrade Dong Biwu worked hard in order to improve the living standards of the people and benefit future generations, and went around campaigning for the long-term interests of the country and the people.

After studying the "Selected Works of Dong Biwu," we feel that it provides us with education not only in Marxist theory, but also in vivid revolutionary tradition. We should learn from Comrade Dong Biwu's lofty moral character of firmly believing in Marxism-Leninism, being boundlessly loyal to the party and the people, and being willing to become the public servant of the people in order to speed up the progress of the four modernizations program, and devote our efforts to building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

CSO: 4005/860

24 May 1985

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CIRCULAR ON MAKING SAMPLE SURVEY OF HANDICAPPED

OW250915 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1145 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 23 Apr (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Civil Affairs and nine other units recently issued a circular on conducting a sample survey of handicapped people throughout the country, asking all departments concerned to fully cooperate with each other under the leadership of the party and the government in order to make this task a success.

The circular, jointly signed by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the State Statistics Bureau, the State Planning Commission, the Ministries of Public Health, Education, Public Security, and Finance, the State Council's Population Census Leading Group, the China Welfare Fund for Handicapped People, and the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-Mutes, says that although the majority of the world's countries have conducted surveys of handicapped people, our country has not done this since the founding of our republic. When the third nationwide population census was taken in 1982, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-Mutes suggested that handicapped people be listed as one column in the census. At that time, the State Council's Population Census Leading Group also regarded this survey as very important. However, since 19 columns had been listed in the census, the survey of handicapped people had to be deferred until later. The State Council has now approved a sample survey of handicapped people in 29 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government based on the data of the third nationwide population census conducted in 1982. The target time for this survey has been set at 2400 on 30 June 1986. The whole survey will take about 2 and 1/2 years.

The circular calls on civil affairs, statistics, public health, education, public security, and finance bureaus, population census leading groups, welfare funds for handicapped people, and associations for the blind and deaf-mutes in all provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government to fully cooperate with each other and set up appropriate leading organs.

A leading group for the sample survey of handicapped people has been set up and Li Zheng, vice president of the China Welfare Fund for Handicapped People, is head of this leading group.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ANALYSES, DISCUSSIONS OF DATA FROM 1982 CENSUS

Beijing **SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA** in English Vol VI No 1, Spring 1985 pp 33-50

[Report of the International Seminar on China's 1982 Census--compiled by Yang Wen; translated by Wang Huimin from **ZHONGGUO SHEIHUI KEXUE**, 1985, No 5]

[Text]

The International Seminar on China's 1982 Population Census, sponsored by the Census Leading Group under the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the State Statistical Bureau and supported by relevant institutions of the United Nations, was held in Beijing from March 26 to 31, 1984. The seminar received 49 papers from Chinese and foreign scholars. Chinese experts and scholars as well as officials, statisticians and demographers from 18 countries and relevant institutions of the United Nations evaluated from different angles and aspects the organization and implementation of China's 1982 census and the data processing of the census materials, and conducted fairly extensive analysis of these materials. The following is a synopsis of the analyses by Chinese and foreign scholars and experts of some of the main aspects of the materials.

I. Analyses of the Sex Ratios of China's Population

Ma An (Director of the Department of Integrating Statistics of the State Statistical Bureau and Deputy Director of the Population Census Office under the State Council) and Zha Ruichuan (Associate Professor at the Research Institute of Demographic Theory of the China People's University):

The 1982 census shows that the sex ratio of China's population is 106.28, slightly lower than in India (107) and Bangladesh (108), but higher than in most countries

as well as one of the highest in the world. The figure is slightly higher than those obtained by China's 1953 and 1963 censuses (105.93 and 105.46 respectively).

Sten Johansson (Director General of Statistics Sweden):

On the one side, sex ratios can be interpreted to offer dramatic insights into social conditions. If combined with age structure, sex ratios can be used to illuminate historical processes and events, particularly those affecting the situation of women.

On the other side, sex ratios can be used to give methodological insights, under the assumption that sex ratios are very stable as a demographic phenomenon. Variation in sex ratios that is unstable and outside the intervals of probability theory, can provide clues as to methodological problems and errors in statistical materials.

The sex ratio among live births is the basis of a country's overall sex ratio. On the strength of vital statistics in Sweden for the last 230 years, we conclude that the sex ratio among live births is very stable as a biological phenomenon and is related to the proportion of still-born babies. The range of variation is between 102 and 108. Theoretically, sex ratios among live births in another country could be higher for a number of biological reasons: 1) if the rate of still-born babies is even lower than in modern Sweden, 2) if the rate of miscarriage is lower for some biological or environmental reason, 3) if the sex ratio among miscarriages and/or among still-born babies is lower or, 4) if the sex ratio at conception is higher for some genetic or other reason. If none of these four factors apply, the explanation for sex ratios outside this range must be social — or methodological.

Ma An and Zha Ruichuan:

The high-sex ratio of China's population has its roots in history. According to census materials from the 1940s, the sex ratio in China in 1947 was 110, much higher than those disclosed by the recent censuses. Women had a low social standing in the old China and, under the yoke of the feudal thinking which regarded men as being superior to women, mortality among them was even higher than among males, resulting in serious disproportions in the sex ratio. There has been a gradual decline in the sex ratio after the founding of the new China, but the relatively high sex ratio left over from the old society will not disappear soon. Formed among generations born in the old China, it will for a long time affect sex ratios in the population as a whole. The main reasons for the high sex ratios today and how they are tending to become more rational in different regions in China stand out clearly when these ratios are examined in the context of age and regional divisions.

1. Age Differences in the Sex Ratio

A 10% sample tabulation shows that the sex ratio among people under 79 years of age is highest in the age groups between 35 and 54 years. These people were born between 1928 and 1947, and the extremely high sex ratio that took shape before the founding of the new China is still extant today. Among these people, those between 35 and 39 and between 40 and 44 years of age were aged 6-10 and 11-15 at the

time of the 1953 census and their sex ratios stood at 113.96 and 118.15 respectively, higher than the 111.26 and 114.18 in 1982. Persons aged 45-49 and 50-54 at the time of the 1982 census were aged 27-31 and 32-36 respectively at the time of the 1964 census and their sex ratios in that year were 113.05 and 111.41 respectively, approximating the 112.23 and 111.77 in 1982. On the other hand, the sex ratio of young people born after the founding of the new China (i.e. those below 32 years of age in 1982) was generally around 106-107 or at most not more than 108.71, indicating that the sex ratio among people born in the 30-some years after Liberation has tended to become more balanced and is basically stable. Hence, the relatively high sex ratio among the population in 1982 is in the main a vestige of the old society.

2. Regional Differences in the Sex Ratio

The highest sex ratios of the 1982 census are found in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Shanxi and Hunan provinces, here they were 109.53, 108.74 and 108.16 respectively. The sex ratios in these regions had always been on the high side, reaching, for instance, 128.6 in Inner Mongolia and 112.5 in Shanxi at the time of the 1953 census and 118.8 and 112.3 respectively at the time of the 1964 census. The ratios had dropped considerably by the time of the recent census, indicating that the proportion of men to women in these regions with the highest sex ratios had somewhat improved. The lowest sex ratios are, successively, in the Tibet Autonomous Region (96.50), Shanghai Municipality (100.07), Beijing Municipality (102.22), Yunnan Province (102.73), Shandong Province (103.06), Tianjin Municipality (103.37) and Jiangsu Province (103.55). Among these, the sex ratio was 97.6 in Yunnan in 1953, 99.0 in Shandong, and 99.7 in Jiangsu — in all these provinces females outnumbered the males. By the time of the 1964 census the figures in these provinces had risen to 99.9, 101.2 and 101.5 respectively. In 1953 the sex ratio in Shanghai was 115.1. By 1964 it had dropped to 98.6 and by 1982 it had risen again to 100.07, becoming more nearly balanced than ever before. The figures in Beijing and Tianjin municipalities came down from 136.5 and 122.0 in 1953, terminating the abnormal situation of extremely high sex ratios that once prevailed in China's big cities. Varying drops were also registered in most other provinces and autonomous regions. This indicates a gradual change in the imbalance between males and females created in various regions by the old society, and especially in the overly high sex ratios in certain of these regions.

The tendency of China's sex ratio to be on the high side is due mainly to influences left over from the old society. But there are possibly two minor reasons. One is the almost identical death rates for males and females in China's low age groups. That for females in the 1-4 age group is higher than for males in the same group. The result is that the age-specific sex ratio does not decline dramatically with age increases as it does in most other countries. The sex ratio remains at a high level — approximating that at the time of birth — over a very broad age span, so that the figure tends to be high for the population as a whole. The other reason is the tendency of China's sex ratio at birth to be slightly high. The sex ratio of 1981-born infants in China reg-

istered during the recent census was 108.47, higher than the average of 103-107 in most countries. The consistently high sex ratio of Chinese infants at birth may to a certain extent be an ethnic characteristic.

II. Analyses of the Age Structure of China's Population

Wu Cangping (Associate Professor at the Research Institute of Demographic Theory of the Chinese People's University):

It is evident from the population age pyramids identified by China's three censuses that the age structure of this country's population possesses the following characteristics:

1. The age structure of China's population has obviously gone through two kinds of reproductive-type population age structures, i.e., it has changed from a high-birth, high-growth type to a low-birth and low-growth type. The dividing line between the two is in the early 1970s. The year-by-year contraction of the various age groups since the 1970s differs radically from the sudden and transient contraction that occurred around the year 1960, and population reproduction has taken a new direction.

2. Materials from the 1982 census indicate that China's young-type population in 1964 has begun to change into an adult-type population. The change-over, however, has only just begun and the population is still quite young. Some of its indexes still belong to the young type as against corresponding indexes in certain countries that are in the historical process of population transformation. This means that the momentum of population growth in China is greater than it was in those countries, and that further transformation will be more difficult.

3. The three population censuses reveal a very marked numerical expansion or contraction in the various age groups born after Liberation. That is to say, there are substantial differences in the number of people in adjacent age groups. The extent of expansion and contraction in the past 32 years and the differentials between the various age groups are rarely found elsewhere in the world. China's population growth has been heavily influenced by social conditions, and variations in social factors have frequently caused sudden increases or decreases in the population. Such an age structure has created many problems in social life, especially in regard to education, employment, marriage, childbirth, housing, commodity demand, medical services, communications and cultural facilities. At times it has been hard to cope with the large fluctuations and discrepancies in supply and demand that occur from one year to the next.

4. The enormous differences between regions, between city and countryside and between nationalities in regard to the age structure of China's population are a reflection of the complexity and diversity of the country's population types.

The economic and cultural development of various regions and nationalities and of town and countryside in China's vast territory has been quite uneven. Major dis-

similarities were also present in the original population structure, and the timing, depth and scope of family planning has differed in various regions. All these factors have inevitably found reflection in the birth and death rates of the population and in the tempo and sequence of population transformation, and have necessarily resulted in highly different age structures. In the regional context, the southeastern coastal areas have shifted more rapidly towards a low birth rate and low growth rate than the southwest and northwest. In the national context, the minority nationality populations are much younger than the Han population, and the dependency ratio coefficients issuing therefrom also differ considerably.

Gu Xingyuan (Associate Professor at the Shanghai First Medical College):

The aging of Shanghai's population is a real problem. The protracted low reproductive level has reduced the number of births and infants, while the lengthening of average life expectancy has increased the number of elderly people. A comparison of data from the 1964 and 1982 censuses shows that the number of elderly people over 64 years of age in Shanghai Municipality has increased from 390,000 to 900,000 and their proportion in the total population has risen from 3.6% to 7.4%. Meanwhile, the number of children under 15 years of age has dropped from 4.58 million in 1964 to 2.15 million in 1982 and their proportion in the total population, from 45% to 18%. If a population is considered to be "old" when 7% of its members are above 64 years of age, then Shanghai's is already an old population. And if we take 60 and 55 as the ages of retirement for males and females respectively, as it is done in China, then the number of people of retirement age has risen from 850,000, or 7.8% of the population in 1964, to 1.68 million or 14.2% in 1982.

Compared with the industrially developed countries (e.g. the Federal Republic of Germany where 15% of the population is above 64 years of age; Britain, 15%; France, 14%; the United States, 11%; the Soviet Union, 10%), Shanghai does not have a very old population, but the aging process there is very rapid. In Britain it took 80 years for the proportion of elderly people in the population to rise from 5% to 8%; in Sweden, 60 years; and in Japan, 25 years; whereas in Shanghai the proportion rose from 5.9% in 1973 to 7.4% in 1982 — within less than 10 years. It is estimated that the proportion of elderly people there will reach 13% (16% in the urban area) by the years 2000, and 21% by 2020. If so, Shanghai will have outstripped Germany, France and Britain in the aging of its population.

Wu Cangping:

Estimates based on the 1982 census indicate that there are 49.5 million people in China over 65 years of age. Since these account for only 4.9% of the population, China can be said to have a very young population. But it must be noted that the rapid rise in average life expectancy will cause the number of elderly people in China to increase very quickly before the end of the century. The rate of increase may average as high as 3% annually — considerably higher than the growth rate of both the

population as a whole and the working-age population. From the long-term point of view, such a rate of increase in the number of elderly people cannot be treated lightly.

III. Analyses of the Fertility Rate of China's Population

Ma An, Zha Ruichuan and Ji Yonghua (staff member of the Population Department at the State Statistical Bureau):

The results of the 1982 census show that China's birth rate in 1981 was 20.91 per thousand, nearly one half less than the 39.14 per thousand in 1964 and one-third less than the 30.65 per thousand in 1971. China's birth rate in 1981 was about one-third lower than the world's average (29 per thousand) and much lower than those in many developing countries. But it is still far from that of the economically advanced countries, being for instance, one half to one-third higher than in the United States, France and Japan.

A population's birth rate is determined by the fertility level of its women and the proportion of women of reproductive age in the overall population.

The results of the 10% sample show that the proportion of women of reproductive age in China's population in 1982 was 24.74%, approximating those in most countries and slightly lower than in the United States and Japan (25.94% in the United States in 1981 and 26.15% in Japan in 1980). According to the sample figures, the crude fertility rate among reproductive-age women in China in 1981 was 83.34 per thousand. This is lower than in most developing countries and close to that in the few European countries where the fertility rate is relatively high — as for instance in Iceland (81.5 per thousand in 1980) and Poland (76.1 per thousand in 1980) — but higher than in such developed countries as the United States (61.5 per thousand in 1979), France (62.5 per thousand in 1980) and Japan (51.6 per thousand in 1980).

The main reason for the relatively high fertility rate among women of reproductive age in China is that the fertility rate for each age group is still quite high. The total fertility rate, obtained by adding up the fertility rate of each age group, gives one a general idea of the fertility level in each year, and is not affected by the actual age structure. The total fertility rate in 1981, as calculated from the 10% sample figures, was 2.584 (this is the sum of the fertility rates of each one-year group; calculated on the basis of five-year groups it is 2.644). This figure is much lower than the 6.18 in 1964 and 5.81 in 1970, but between 30% and 50% higher than in Japan (1.74), France (1.98) and the United States (1.85). This indicates that although fertility among China's women has already assumed the nature of a modern, family-planning fertility model, there is still potential for further lowering the fertility rate in each age group.

When the age-specific fertility rate of 1981 is compared with those of the 1950s and 60s it will be clearly seen that the fertility model among China's women has changed into one of a new type. The models of 1952, 1957 and 1965 were all of the same type, with fertility rapidly rising to 260 per thousand before age 20 and

peaking at more than 320 per thousand between the ages of 22 and 23. Furthermore, the high birth rate lasted for quite a long time, with 17 to 18 specific ages displaying fertility rates higher than 200 per thousand. These figures are indicative of a state of spontaneous fertility devoid of family planning. The age-specific fertility rate in 1981, however, had undergone a marked change and exhibited the narrow and steep fertility curve characteristic of the developed countries. This change not only reflected a decline in the fertility level but, more importantly, indicated a fundamental change in the population's reproductive behavior.

Zha Ruichuan and Ji Yonghua:

The figures in China, whether for birth rates, crude fertility rates, age-specific fertility rates, or total fertility rates, are all conspicuously higher than in the economically developed countries. Why? A fairly clear explanation is found when we classify the infants born in 1981 according to birth parity.

In the crude fertility rate of 83.32 per thousand, first births accounted for 39.42 per thousand; second births, 21.40; and third or subsequent births, 22.52. If no third or higher order births had occurred in 1981, the crude fertility rate would have been no more than 60.82 per thousand, lower than in the United States and Japan, and the total fertility rate would have been 1.847 instead of 2.644, approximating that of the United States in 1979 (1.854).

A nationwide one-per-thousand sample of the population's fertility shows that the total fertility rates in 1980 and 1981 were 2.238 and 2.631 respectively. A 10% sample during the recent census produced the figure 2.584 for the 1981 total fertility rate. All these figures indicate an upswing in the total fertility rate for 1981 as compared with 1980. There is a proneness to ascribe this upswing to an increase in the number of people who want more children and in the number of children women have on average during their lifetime. But in fact the one-per-thousand sample indicates that the first-child proportion in the new-born population had risen to 44% in 1981 as against 39% in 1980, and the proportion of multiple parity births had correspondingly dropped from 36% to 32%. Average birth parity had also gone down from 2.3 in 1980 to 2.2 in 1981. This clearly indicates that the fluctuations and especially the resurgence in the total fertility rate in the past few years is due, not to an increase in the number of multiple parity women, but mainly to changes or time shifts in the ages of marriage and child-bearing.

Yuki Miura (Director of the Tabulation Department of the Statistics Bureau under the Prime Minister's Office of Japan):

The composition of the female population by marital status is related closely to fertility. Based on the census of 1982, the percentages married in fertile age groups 20-24 and 25-29 are considerably higher in China as compared with those in Japan in 1980. In the age group 20-24 years 53.4% or a little over one half of women are married in China. The percentage married in this age group dropped rapidly from

31.2% in 1960 to 21.9% by 1980 in Japan. For the age group 25-29 years, the percentage married was 94.4% in China as compared with 74.5% in Japan in 1980.

After 30 years of age, an extremely minor proportion of women, 0.7% in the age group 30-34 years and 0.2% to 0.3% in age groups 25-29, 40-44 and 45-49, remained unmarried in China. These percentages are considerably lower than corresponding percentages in Japan.

High percentages of women currently married in child-bearing ages in China would have impacts on the general level of fertility. As the proportion of females currently married by age group in China is different from Japan, the age-specific marital fertility rates were computed by dividing age-specific fertility rates by percentages currently married.

The age-specific marital fertility rate for the age group 20-24 in China was 23% lower than that in Japan in 1980. The rates for age groups 25-29 and 30-34 in China were more or less at the same level as in Japan in 1980.

The total fertility rate for married women in China was 4.010 in 1981, as compared to 5.490 in Japan in 1980. Therefore, the general level of marital fertility in China is relatively low, compared with Japan.

The seminar participants analyzed the various socio-economic factors affecting the fertility rate in China from the following aspects:

1. Regional Differences in Fertility

Zha Ruichuan and Ji Yonghua:

Census results show that there are big differences between the birth rates, crude fertility rates, total fertility rates, single-child ratios and multiple-parity ratios in each region. The total fertility rate, for instance, is lowest in Shanghai Municipality where it comes to only 1.316, and highest in Guizhou Province where it reaches 4.355, the difference between the two being more than 300%. The nine provinces and municipalities where the total fertility rate is 2.2 are mostly concentrated in the economically and culturally better developed regions on the eastern seaboard. Conversely, the six provinces and autonomous regions with total fertility rates exceeding 3.5 are all in the economically and culturally backward regions in the southwest and northwest, which are also minority nationality regions. This strikingly demonstrates the reverse relation between economic and cultural level and fertility rate. Decreases in the one-child ratio and increases in the multiple-parity ratio occur in basically the same sequence as the increases in total fertility rate. With rare exceptions, the nine provinces and municipalities with the lowest total fertility rates have at the same time the highest one-child and lowest multiple-parity ratios. The six provinces and municipalities which have the highest total fertility rates also have the lowest one-child and highest multiple-parity ratios.

2. Effect of Educational Level on Fertility

Zha Ruichuan and Ji Yonghua:

The 10% sample clearly indicates the tendency for fertility levels to drop and especially for one-child ratios to rise and multiple-parity ratios — and consequently average parity ratios — to decline as educational and cultural levels rise. The fertility rate among women having a college education is only 41.99 per thousand, while that for women having a primary school education is 87.39 and for illiterate and semi-literate women, 95.47 per thousand. Other indices all display a similar disparity. The difference is especially outstanding in the multiple-parity ratio. Women with a college education who had a third or more child in 1981 accounted for only 1.23% of the total number of births; women with a primary school education, 26.75%; and illiterate and semi-literate women, as much as 40% or more. The multiple-parity ratio among women with college, senior middle school, junior middle school and primary school educations was approximately 1:3:9:27. In other words, with each step down the educational scale, the multiple-parity ratio increased three fold. The ratio between women with a primary school education and illiterate women, on the other hand, was 1:1.5. This tells us how great a role education plays in reducing excessive child-bearing. It is worth noting that among the educated women the greatest disparity occurred between those with a junior middle school education and those with a primary school education. This may mean that women who are given a junior middle school education undergo a marked change in regard to attitude towards child-bearing and knowledge of birth control. Hence, special attention should be paid to popularizing junior middle school education in the interests of promoting family planning.

3. Effect of Occupational Differences on the Fertility Rate

Yuki Miura:

According to the 10% sample tabulation of the 1982 census, 85.4 persons out of 1,000 working women aged 15 to 49 years gave birth in 1981. There was a significant difference in the proportion of women who gave birth in 1981 among different occupational groups. The proportion giving birth was 93.3 per 1,000 women — 41% of them for the first time, 27% for the second time and 32% for the third and later time — among those engaged in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishing, as compared to 58.9 for those engaged in industrial production, transport and related activities, and 61.6 for those engaged in all other occupations. The proportion of first births was 83% and that of second births was 13% among women engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

4. Ethnic Differences in the Fertility Level

Zhang Tianlu (Associate Professor at the Demographic Research Institute under the Beijing Economic Institute):

The 10% sample tabulation shows that the total fertility rate in rural areas was 5.05 for minority nationalities in 1981 and 2.76 for Hans.

In the 29 years from the first population census in 1953 to the third census in 1982, the national population grew by 73.21%, increasing at an average annual rate of 19.12 per thousand. In this period, the Han population grew by 72.2% at an average yearly rate of 18.7 per thousand, and the minority nationality population by 90.4% at an average yearly rate of 22.4 per thousand.

IV. Analyses of the Death Rate of China's Population

Ma An and Zha Ruichuan:

The crude death rate of China's population in 1981 was 6.36 per thousand, much lower than the 14.00 per thousand in 1953 or the 11.50 per thousand in 1964. It was much higher before Liberation, being as high as 28 per thousand in the 1930s. In the wake of economic advances and improved living standards after the founding of the new China, the death rate registered a constant and sharp decrease, dropping from about 20 per thousand in 1949 to 9.50 in 1965, 7.60 in 1970, and 6.87 in 1977. This last figure is not only much lower than the average of 12 per thousand in the developing countries, but also lower than the average of 10 per thousand in the developed countries.

1. There are two reasons for the low crude death rate in China. The first is the young population composition.

Wang Weizhi (Assistant Researcher at the Demographic Research Center under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences):

The age structure of China's population is passing from a young type over to a middle-aged type. Its features are a decreasing proportion of children, a rising proportion of middle-aged people, and an as yet inconsiderable increase in elderly people. At the time of the 1982 census the population aged 15 and under had decreased in proportion from 40.4% in 1964 to 33.6%, and the population aged 65 and over had increased from 3.5% in 1964 to 4.9%. Due to the reduced proportion of infants and children, the number of deaths in this high-mortality sector of the population had dropped dramatically. Mortality among elderly people was rather high and in some age groups had risen somewhat. But this had little effect on the overall number of deaths due to the very low proportion of elderly people in the population as a whole. Hence the downward trend in the crude mortality rate.

The second reason is the low death rate among people of all ages.

Ma An and Zha Ruichuan:

According to census figures compiled in 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the mortality rate is 38.80 per thousand in the 0 age group, 4.22 per

thousand in the 1-4 age group, 1.17 per thousand in the 5-9 age group, 0.72 per thousand in the 10-14 age group, between 1 and 2 per thousand in the 15-34 age group, and between 3 and 4 per thousand in the 40-44 age group. It rises to over 10 per thousand only after 55 years of age, and exceeds 100 per thousand at around 80 years of age. In all age groups the death rates approximate those in the developed countries, with the exception of those for persons under ten years of age, which are slightly higher.

2. Sex and Age Differentials in the Death Rate of China's Population

Wang Weizhi:

According to 1981 figures, the crude death rate is 6.36 per thousand; that for males, 6.55 per thousand, and that for females, 6.15 per thousand. The mortality ratio for men and women is 106.5:100.0, indicating that the death rate among males in China's population is higher than among females. This sex differential in the death rate is very obvious in all age groups except for certain ages in the low age groups. The death rate is higher for males than for females in all but a few regions, as for example Guizhou Province where the ratio is 93.3:100.

Judging from the age structure of the deceased population in past years, the proportion of low age-group deaths in the total number of deaths in all age groups was decreasing in 1981 and that of high age-group deaths was rising. The proportion of 0-4 age group deaths in the total number of deaths, for instance, stood at 42.3% in 1957 and 46.1% in 1963, sank to 13.8% in 1975 and 13.6% in 1978, and rose slightly in 1981 to 15.98%. On the other hand, the proportion of elderly people in the deceased population has been rising. That of persons aged 50 or more among the total number of deaths was 35.9% in 1957, 35.5% in 1963, 66.0% in 1975, 66.2% in 1978, and 64.76% in 1981. These changing ratios are a general indication that elderly people have replaced infants and children as the main constituent in the deceased population in the 30-some years since Liberation. Correspondingly, the median age of the deceased has risen considerably and gravitated towards the elderly.

3. Regional and Urban-Rural Differentials in the Death Rate of China's Population

Ma An and Zha Ruichuan:

There were substantial differences in the death rate levels of various regions in 1981. Heilongjiang Province had the lowest with 4.95 per thousand, followed by Anhui Province with 5.20 per thousand, and then Liaoning and Jilin provinces, both with 5.32 per thousand. Tibet, Yunnan, Guizhou and Xinjiang, in that order, had the highest, with death rates amounting to 9.92, 8.60, 8.48 and 8.41 per thousand respectively. The highest was twice as high as the lowest. In some cases, the differences in death rate reflect the differing levels of economic development and health work in the various regions. The four provinces and autonomous regions with the highest death

rates, for instance, have a relatively low economic and educational level. Meanwhile, their birth rates rank 29th, 23rd, 26th and 27th respectively in China. In other cases the differences show the influence of the population's regional age composition. Heilongjiang Province, for example, has the lowest death rate in China because its population is relatively young. If standardized according to the age composition of the national population, Heilongjiang's death rate would be 6.14 per thousand. On the other hand, Shanghai's crude death rate is 6.44 per thousand and ranks 18th in China, for the reason that its age composition is on the elderly side.

The death rate in the rural areas has always been higher than in the cities. The recent census shows that in the counties it is higher by 1.39 per thousand than in the cities. A comparison of the figures in cities and counties over the years indicates that the death rate in the counties has declined more rapidly than in the cities and is approaching that in the latter. This is a good sign, for it shows that the gap between city and countryside is narrowing. It should be noted that the high death rate figures in the rural areas also has to do with age composition. The higher proportion of children and elderly people in the counties, as compared with the cities and towns, is bound to affect calculations and raise their death rate figures slightly.

4. Lengthening of the Average Life Expectancy of China's Population

Jiang Zhenghua (Associate Professor at the Demographic Research Institute of the Xi'an Communications University), Zhang Weimin (of the Population Department under the State Statistical Bureau) and Zhu Liwei (of the Population Census Office under the State Council):

Throughout China's past, the average life expectancy of the population has always been at a very low level. Before Liberation it was about 35 years, with little difference between males and females or between city and countryside. A rapid increase after Liberation raised it to 68 years in 1982, higher than in most of the developing countries, but still lower than in the economically most developed countries.

There are fairly large differentials between the average life expectancies in China's various regions. Average life expectancy is highest in the northeast and along the coast, and lowest in the southwest, the difference being about 10 years. Judging from developmental trends since the 1970s, the average life expectancies in these regions will continue to rise, but will retain their regional differentials in the near future.

The average life expectancies of the urban and rural populations in China differ very little, the difference being about 3-4 years in all of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

Analysis of the causes of death shows that contagious diseases, which ranked second in the first few years after Liberation, had by 1982 been excluded from the first ten in both the urban and rural areas, and diseases of the respiratory system had receded from first to fourth place. The composition of the first ten causes of death bears witness to a typical characteristic of the transition from low average life expectancy to high average life expectancy since Liberation, i.e., the shift from acute to chronic

diseases as the major cause of death, and from massive mortality among adults and young people — as a result of malnutrition, poor hygienic conditions and lack of medical facilities — to mortality among the elderly. Further increases in average life expectancy will be contingent on the control of cardiovascular diseases, malignant tumors and other chronic diseases as well as geriatric diseases. Since dramatic advances are not likely to occur in these fields in the foreseeable future, it is expected that the increase in average life expectancy among the Chinese population will slow down in the 1980s and 90s.

V. Analyses of China's Employed Population

1. Degree of Employment in China's Population

Sun Jingxin (Deputy Director of the Department of Statistics of the State Statistical Bureau and Deputy Director of the Population Census Office under the State Council):

1) Proportion of Working-Age Population in the Total Population

The 10% sample taken during the 1982 population census indicates that China had a working-age population (men aged 15-59 and women aged 15-54 of 57,347,227, comprising 57.13% of the total population — up 2.52% over the 54.61% ascertained by the first census in 1953, and 6.02% over the 51.11% of the second census in 1964. Calculated by the internationally accepted age specification of 15-64, the proportion of the working-age population in China's total population is 61.5%, higher than the world's average (59% in 1980), higher still than the average for the developing countries (57%), but lower than the average for the developed countries.

2) Proportion of Employed Population in the Total Population

The 10% sample shows that the proportion of employed population in China's overall population has risen by a large margin since the early years after Liberation. It was 33.4% in 1949, rose to 36.1% in 1952, 36.8% in 1957, 39.5% in 1965 and 41.5% in 1970, fell slightly to 41.3% in 1975, and reached 51.9% in 1982. The proportions were 56.3% in cities, 53.2% in towns, and 51.1% in the counties. The higher proportions in cities and towns are due mainly to a larger proportion of working-age population there.

3) Proportion of Employed Population in the Should-Be-Employed Population

The 10% sample shows that in cities and towns in 1982 there were 11,418,629 employed persons, 340,121 unemployed persons, and 10,515 persons waiting for job assignments (note: Persons already assured of employment by the government by waiting for a specific job assignment, e.g., college graduates, demobilized army men, etc. — *Tr.*) (The national figures have not yet been computed.) Thus, the should-be-employed population in cities and towns numbers 11,769,265, while the employed rate is 97.02% and the unemployed rate, 2.89% (2.98% if the urban waiting-for-assignment population is added).

The 10% sample also shows that there are slightly more females (53.4%) than males (46.6%) in the urban unemployed population. Young people form the great majority of the unemployed, whose median age is only 18.24 years. This indicates the transitory nature of China's unemployed population in that it consists largely of young people just about to enter society.

2. Structure of China's Employed Population

1) Age Composition of the Employed Population

Sun Jingxin:

The average age of China's employed population is 33.49 years and its median age, 30.84 years. The average age of males in this sector of the population is 35.12 years and their median age is 32.44, while those of females are 31.39 and 29.16 years respectively. The proportion of young and middle-aged persons in the employed population is very large. Young people (aged 15-29) comprise 47.8% and the middle-aged (30-44), 31.4%, the two together comprising 79.2%. Persons aged 45 years and over make up only 20.8%. In most developed countries the employed population aged 45 or more accounts for about one-third of the employed population, e.g., 37.7% in Japan and 30% in the United States. China's employed population is much younger.

Furthermore, the 15-19 age group's proportion in the employed population is 74.1% in China, whereas it is 47% in the United States and 19.4% in Japan. This indicates that China's employed population engages in social labor at a relatively early age. One reason is that the large numbers of people born in the 1960s have already attained working age and that young people have relatively few opportunities to enter school due to the insufficient development of secondary education. Another reason is that finding employment is comparatively easy since social productive labor, especially today's agricultural labor, does not require a high educational or technical level of the persons employed in them.

2) Sex Composition of the Employed Population

Sun Jingxin:

If we examine the percentages of employed in the total population, we will see that males outnumber females in all age groups over 20 years. Only in the 15-19 age group do females outnumber males. This is explained by the fact that the males in this age group have more opportunities than females to enter schools of a higher grade or join the armed services. In the rural areas, in particular, more females than males in this age group discontinue their studies and take up agricultural production because of the tendency in some regions to regard men as being superior to women. Statistics show that girls comprise only 36.5% of the students in rural junior middle schools, and only 31.1% in rural senior middle schools. The proportion of employed females aged 15-19 is 77.8% in China, much higher than in Japan (18.5%).

3) Educational Composition of the Employed Population

Liu Zheng (Director of the Research Institute of Demographic Theory of the Chinese People's University):

The census results indicate a generally low level of education among China's employed population. In this sector of the population only 1% have a college education and 10.53% a senior middle school education. The majority (60.34%) have a junior middle school or primary school education, and 28.26% are illiterate or semi-literate.

Taken trade by trade, the employed population in the material production sector has a relatively low level of education, since less than 25% are able to claim a senior middle school education or higher. The lowest level of education is found in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. In these occupations only 5.46% of the employed population have a senior middle school education or higher, college graduates are virtually non-existent, and the illiteracy rate is as high as 35.93% — an indication that the agricultural labor force relies mainly on manual and handicraft skills. On the other hand, workers in the non-material production sector generally have a high level of education.

Taken profession by profession, the educational level of the employed population engaged mainly in mental labor is relatively high, while that of those engaged mainly in physical labor is relatively low. Of China's scientists and researchers, for instance, 93.59% have a senior middle school education or higher and as many as 75.19% a college education, whereas among the manufacturing and transport workers and related personnel the figures are 19.09% and 0.17% respectively.

4) Professional Composition of the Employed Population

Liu Zheng:

Data on the professional composition of the employed population obtained by the 1982 census reveal the following characteristics:

(1) Laborers in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery and manufacturing and transport workers directly engaged in physical labor make up 87.98% of the employed population, with the former category accounting for as much as 72.02%. The figure would reach 91.99% if commercial and service trade personnel were counted in. Hence, the majority of the employed are physical workers, and the larger part of the latter engage in agricultural production and make a living from the land. The fact that the majority of the working people in China still have to busy themselves keeping the population fed shows that the agricultural commodity economy is underdeveloped and still cannot furnish the material conditions that would permit transformation of more of the agricultural labor force into a non-agricultural labor force. In the developed countries, on the other hand, workers directly engaged in agricultural and industrial labor together comprise less than half of the employed population, and the proportion of workers in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery is even smaller.

(2) Specialized technical personnel, functionaries, office workers and all other personnel directly engaged in mental work together make up only 7.92% of the employed population. Specialized personnel account for only 5.07%, whereas in 1978 the proportion was 14.3% in the United States, 12.8% in West Germany, 15.5% in France, and 7.2% in Japan. These figures indicate a relative shortage of specialized technical

personnel in China which is ill suited to the needs of the country's "four modernizations" program. They also point up the relative backwardness of China's economic structure in that it possesses few knowledge-intensive trades.

(3) The way persons of the same profession are distributed among the different trades indicates an underdeveloped social division of labor and a low degree of specialization in social service. The service trades, for instance, only 21.33% of the chefs and cooks work in the commercial catering sector, whereas 78.67% are employed in other sector. Those working for the manufacturing industries alone account for 25.87% of the total. This is more than the percentage engaged in public catering services. Another example is the fact that although 66.03% of China's medical and health technicians work in the public health sector, no less than 33.97% are engaged in medical and health units operated by other trades.

VI. Size of Households and Analyses of the Family Structure in China

Gordon E. Priest (Director of the Housing, Family and Social Division of Statistics, Canada) and Edward T. Pryor (Director-General of the Census and Household Statistics Branch of Statistics, Canada):

Household size was 2.5 in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1980, 2.9 in Canada in 1981, and 3.1 and 3.3 respectively in Australia and Japan in 1980. China's average size of 4.4 in 1982 is comparable to Peru (4.4 in 1981) and Brazil (4.5 in 1980). India's household size was 5.3 in 1981.

Ma Xia (Deputy Director of the Demographic Research Center under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences):

In regard to changes in household size in China over the past 30 or more years, the average number of persons per household plummeted from 5.35 in 1947 to 4.30 in 1953, owing to a sharp increase in the number of households (up by more than 47 million in 1953 as compared with 1947). Drops and rises in the population's natural growth rate after 1953 affected household size so that the figures stood at 4.29 in 1964 and 4.78 in 1973.

Regarding interregional differences in household size in 1982, the provinces or municipalities with the smallest number of persons per household were Shanghai (3.6), Beijing (3.7), Tianjin (3.9), and Jiangsu (3.9). Those with the largest were Guangxi, Tibet, Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia (5.1 each), and Yunnan (5.2). The other 19 provinces and autonomous regions each had 4-4.9 persons per household. This diversity in household size is the result of interregional differences in socio-economic development as well as in popular customs, religious beliefs and ethnic cultural traditions. Generally speaking, households are larger in border and outlying regions and among some of the minority nationalities, and smaller in the hinterland. As regards urban-rural differences, rural households were larger in 1982 than urban households, with 4.75 persons in the former and 3.95 in the latter.

Gordon E. Priest and Edward T. Pryor:

Somewhere between 1931 and 1941 the size of the Canadian household was at the level of 4.4. Unlike China today, however, our population was already well urbanized and fairly industrialized when our household size was 4.4. At that point in time Canada's industrial base was developing with 23.6% of the wage-earners engaged in manufacturing. Only 10.0% were involved in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Of course, size of household alone, reflecting as it does a myriad of past demographic or economic events, provides us with little insight into actual living arrangements, kinship networks or family units and thus has limited interpretive value.

Ma Xia:

Comparing data from the Dingxian survey conducted by Professor Li Jinghan in 1930 with the 1982 census figures on the generation structure of families, we found a marked increase in the percentage of single-generation and two-generation households (51% and 82% respectively) and a significant decrease in three-generation households and households with more than three generations (50% and 18.79% respectively).

It will be seen from these figures that the principal changes in the family structure are a considerable decrease in the number of multi-generation lineal families and of combined families in which married brothers continue to eat and live together, and a gradual increase in nuclear families, coupled with the retention of a certain number of three-generation lineal families.

The changes have deep economic roots. Large and populous families in which several generations lived under one roof existed in the old China to suit the economic and social needs and social mentality of the well-to-do strata. Families of moderate dimensions also existed among the poor, in keeping with the relatively low state of the productive forces. The reform of the relations of production after Liberation, especially the liquidation of the feudal system of land ownership, did away with the material basis that held the big family together. They also altered the standing of patriarchy in the family. Since all members of the rural household obtained a share of land and other means of production during the land reform and all had equal rights and status in regard to production and distribution, it became possible for siblings, children and grandchildren to break away from the large family and set up their own households. Collectivized production after the cooperative movement not only changed the old methods of small production; it also transformed certain aspects of the peasants' life style.

The tendency to split up is even more pronounced in the families of urban residents. The offspring has greater economic independence than the peasants since they receive a fixed income after going to work. Furthermore, the concept, based on tradition and social mentality, of maintaining the big family is less strong than among the peasants. Other factors are the differences in vocation, income and inclination among the members of urban families and the limitations of housing conditions. As a consequence, it is quite common for newlyweds to live apart from their parents and set up separate households.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SONG RENQIONG SENDS WREATH--Comrade Li Mengling, a retired veteran cadre, and formerly secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, and vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, died after a long illness in Changchun on 21 April 1985 at the age of 82. More than 500 persons from various circles of Jilin Province and Changchun city paid their last respects to the remains of Li Mengling on the morning of 26 April. Central leading comrades Song Renqiong, Deng Liqun, and Gu Mu, principal party and government responsible comrades of Jilin Province, and friends of Li Mengling sent wreaths. The Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, the leading organs of Jilin Province, and the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee also sent wreaths. [By Xin Minghua] [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1548 GMT 28 Apr 85 OW]

ACFTU ANNIVERSARY INSCRIPTION--Beijing, 30 Apr (XINHUA)--Deng Yingchao, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, today wrote an inscription for the All-China Federation of Trade Unions [ACFTU] on the occasion of its 60th founding anniversary. The inscription reads: "Workers and staffers of all nationalities in the country make concerted efforts to promote reforms and the four modernizations." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1429 GMT 30 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4005/860

24 May 1985

EAST REGION

ANHUI CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING

Meeting Opens

OW260425 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The 15th meeting of the 6th Anhui Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in Hefei 23 April. The main items on the agenda are: To relay and implement the guidelines of the Third Session of the Sixth NPC; to examine the draft regulations on enacting local laws and regulations by the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; to examine the draft regulations on managing urban and rural trade fairs in Anhui; to receive and examine the provincial government's reports on price reform, on auditing work, and on publicizing, implementing, and enforcing the forestry law; and to consider appointments and removals.

Wang Guangyu, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, presided over the plenary meeting on the morning of 23 April. Su Hua, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, relayed the guidelines of the Third Session of the Sixth NPC and outlined steps for implementing them.

Su Yu, Zhang Zuoyin, Wei Xinyi, Xia Deyi, Zheng Rui, Yang Chengzong, Zhao Minxue, Ying Yiquan, Kang Zhijie, Du Weiyou, and Zheng Huaizhou, vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, attended the meeting.

Song Ming, vice governor of Anhui, and responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and provincial departments concerned attended the meeting as observers.

24 April Session

OW281329 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Text] The 15th meeting of the 6th provincial people's congress Standing Committee held a plenary session on the afternoon of 24 April. Vice Chairman Su Yu presided over the session.

During the session, (Qian Lei), vice chairman of the Legislative Affairs Commission of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, explained

its draft of provisional regulations concerning adoption of local laws and statutes, and (Li Jixiang), vice chairman of the Finance and Economic Commission of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, explained the revised draft of regulations concerning supervision of village trade fairs in the province.

From 25 April to the morning of 26 April, the participants held group discussions on the above-mentioned two drafts of regulations. They held: In order to step up local legislative work, improve legislative procedures, and raise the quality of legislative work, it is necessary to adopt the provisional regulations concerning the adoption of local laws and statutes. The regulations concerning the supervision of village trade fairs, which have been revised in the light of the central authorities No 1 Document this year and the actual situation in Anhui, will play an important role in strengthening the supervision of country fairs, further invigorating the rural and urban economies, and promoting the development of commodity after formal adoption and promulgation.

The participants also enthusiastically put forth suggestions for revising and supplementing these two drafts of regulations.

28 April Session

OW011159 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The 15th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 6th provincial people's congress held a plenary session yesterday afternoon.

(Tian Mei), vice chairman of the Legislative Affairs Committee of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, and Li Jixiang, vice chairman of its Economic and Financial Committee, gave explanations on some revised draft regulations at the session. After seriously discussing the explanations and the revised draft regulations, the session unanimously approved the Provisional Regulations of the Standing Committee of the Anhui Provincial People's Congress on Adopting Local Regulations and the Regulations of Anhui Province on the Management of Urban and Rural Peasant Markets. The session also approved appointments and removals on proposals by the provincial people's government and the provincial people's procuratorate.

Zhang Zuoyin, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over the session. Wang Guangyu, chairman of the Standing Committee, addressed the session before its conclusion.

Chairman Wang Guangyu stressed: Members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress must have a clear understanding of the situation in reform, strengthen their confidence in carrying out reform, keep pace with the progress of reform, meet the requirements for reform, and stand in the forefront of reform in order to promote its development.

In dealing with the inspection of and supervision over government work by the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, Chairman Wang Guangyu

said. The law stipulates that the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress exercises the power of supervision, but we have not done enough in this regard. From now on, we must conscientiously exercise this power according to law by constantly inspecting and supervising the enforcement of the constitution, laws, and local regulations. Once resolutions, decisions, or policy regulations made by any government organizations in any localities are found to be in contravention of the constitution and laws, they must be rectified according to law. When necessary, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress will annul such resolutions, decisions, or policy regulations. We must seriously examine bills and reports on the work of the provincial people's government, higher court, and procuratorate and support their work in order to ensure the enforcement of the constitution and laws.

Chairman Wang Guangyu said: The Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress has adopted a resolution calling for disseminating knowledge of the law among the citizens of the province in the next 5 years. Cadres at various levels, especially those at or above the county level, should take the lead in studying the law. There are still phenomena in which some cadres do not study the law, much less understand it; they fail to abide by the law or to strictly enforce it; and lawbreakers are not investigated and punished. It is, therefore, necessary to disseminate knowledge of the law among cadres as a major task.

Su Yu, Su Hua, Wei Xinyi, Xia Deyi, Zheng Rui, Yang Chengzong, Ying Yiquan, Kang Zhijie, Du Weiyou, and Zheng Huaizhou, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, attended the plenary session. Vice Governor Song Ming was present as an observer.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

NEGATION OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN JINAN

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Feb 85 pl

[Article by Zheng Xuan [6774 1357] and He Rongde [0149 2837 1795]: "Link with Realities, Grasp the Crucial Point and Thoroughly Negate the 'Cultural Revolution'"]

[Text] In the study of party rectification, the standing committee of the Jinan municipal party committee received a profound education in closely linking with the realities, grasping the crucial point of thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution" and summing up the lesson of experience.

Jinan Municipality had launched the campaign of thoroughly negating "the cultural revolution" last year, and the vast number of party members had achieved a preliminary recognition of the harms of "the cultural revolution." However, it is still very distant from the requirements of the party's central committee. After the full development of party rectification this time, the standing committee of the Jinan municipal party committee treated the thorough negation of "the cultural revolution" as an important component of the study work in party rectification. They linked with the realities and, from the special status of Jinan as being the capital of Shandong Province, analyzed the need and the urgency of thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution." During "the cultural revolution," factional organizations that were provincial in nature all established a foothold in Jinan. Consequently, many "rebel headquarters" concentrated in Jinan and strongholds appeared in large numbers, faction fights continued and armed struggles did not stop. In that special historic environment the vast number of party members, cadres and people's masses were affected in various degrees by the 10 years of internal turmoil. Now that the vast number of party members, cadres and people's masses are to be educated in thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution," the elimination of the effects of the "cultural revolution" is actually a pressing matter of the moment.

The standing committee of the municipal party committee made the thorough negation of the theory of "continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" a key point of the thorough negation of the "cultural revolution." In restudying the decision on party rectification and the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee and in

profound analysis of the so-called "continued revolution" theory, everyone realized that this "theory" was a way to agitate to seize power from the proletarian class and was also a theory with which to create total internal turmoil and instigate total retrogression. The standing committee of the municipal party committee, via the criticism of this theory, advanced a step in eliminating the "leftist" ideological influence.

To eradicate thoroughly the viewpoint that "one faction was correct and the other was wrong," the standing committee of the municipal party committee conducted a conscientious analysis of the two factions in Jinan during "the cultural revolution." All reviewed the birth and the situation of faction fights and brought into the open the various manifestations of factionalism. They concluded that at present factionalism still more or less exists in the minds of some comrades. While it is not seen at normal times, it shows up whenever there is a problem. Especially among the leadership comrades, it is a requirement that they abandon the viewpoint that "one faction is correct and the other is wrong." They analyzed the formation, the development and the course of struggles of the so-called "conservatives" which commanded the most influence in Jinan who take the "22 April" meeting as their symbol, and those of the so-called "rebels" who take the "28 April" meeting as their symbol, to see clearly that both factions were the products of the "cultural revolution," that both factions acted under the theoretical guidance of the so-called "continued revolution" and that they were both wrong and needed to be thoroughly negated.

In carrying out the discussion of studying the thorough negation of the "cultural revolution" and the basic eradication of factionalism, the standing committee of the Jinan municipal party committee made a clear distinction on two issues. One is the distinction between the thorough negation of both factions and the correct treatment of the masses in both factions. The good things done by the vast party members and masses during the 10 years of turmoil such as developing production and doing a good job in their incumbent posts should be affirmed in a seeking the truth from the facts, and should not be credited as "factional." The second is the distinction between resolving the factionalism and resolving the question of the "three kinds of persons." Positively no faction members and the "three kinds of persons" being ferreted out should be allowed to make use of the banner of negating the "cultural revolution" for reversing the verdicts on their own mistakes and crimes.

The Jinan municipal party committee, by using the method of integrating the upper and the lower levels, closely integrated its standing committee's study on party rectification with the study on guiding the party rectification units of the entire municipality and notified all the party rectification units of the entire municipality about the situation of the standing committee on the study of the special topics relating to the thorough negation of the "cultural revolution." It summoned meetings of the party committee (party organization) secretaries to make substantive arrangements for studying the special topics of doing a good job in thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution" and conscientiously resolved the residual-style question bequeathed by the "cultural revolution" that still exists among leadership groups.

EAST REGION

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY FOR INTELLECTUALS URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Conquer Slack Mood and Grasp Firmly the Implementation of Intellectuals Policy"]

[Text] At present, in the implementation of the policy for intellectuals, a kind of slack mood has emerged in some areas, components and units. Some people think that not much work remains to be done, and therefore they do not grasp the work as closely as they used to; some of them take less care of the true difficulties of intellectuals in politics, work and living conditions; and others think that too much concern has been accorded to the intellectuals. All these tell us that the "leftist" influence is still doing mischief in the minds of some comrades that needs to be eradicated further and that the implementation of the intellectuals policy still needs painstaking efforts.

The CPC Central Committee pointed out in its decision on the reform of the economic system: "In the implementation of socialist modernization construction, we must respect knowledge and talent, struggle against all the ideologies and deeds that look down upon science and technology, on the exploitation of wisdom and on intellectuals; we must resolutely correct the situation of discrimination against intellectuals in many areas; we must undertake effective measures to elevate the social status of intellectuals; and we must improve their working and living conditions." Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said while mentioning the decision of the CPC Central Committee to reform the economic system: "The decision has 10 articles and the most important one is Article 9. It boils down to 'respecting knowledge and talent.' Therefore, in a certain sense, to revitalize China and construct the four modernizations means that under the leadership of the party, we rely on the knowledge to revitalize and on talent to construct. The leaders of various levels must unify this ideology with 'The Decision' of the 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee to respect knowledge and talent and resolutely implement the party's intellectuals policy without the slightest slackening."

We should see that due to the influence of the prolonged "leftist" prejudice and the restrictions of the traditional concept, there remain much obstacles in our current work of implementing the intellectuals policy. This makes us realize more that we should not relax in grasping this work and should devote

perserving efforts. All areas, components and units should conduct a conscientious review, examination and summing-up of their work in implementing the policy for intellectuals during the last year, to see if the intellectuals are now given complete political confidence, are now assigned reasonable work and are given the concern and the consideration in living conditions, and should then discover the discrepancy in adopting appropriate positive measures. We must liberate our ideology to solve clearly the questions of intellectuals left over by history, must positively recruit into the party the intellectuals qualified for party membership, must boldly select for leadership posts those splendid path-breaking intellectuals who possess leadership ability and must adopt positive measures to solve conscientiously the problems of intellectuals who have poor working conditions, are overcrowded in their living quarters and are in poor health; the bureaucratic attitude of indifference must not be adopted. We must seriously and conscientiously handle the cases of excluding and cracking down on intellectuals and resolutely dismiss from leadership posts people who want to leave the cases pending rather than act. Only by the solid implementation of work can we accomplish the task of implementing the party's intellectuals policy before the convening of the party's 13th Congress.

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EAST REGION

NEW WAY OF CONSTRUCTING THIRD ECHELON IN JINAN MUNICIPALITY

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by Zhao Xixin [6392 7872 0207] and Liu Yuangang [0491 0337 0474]:
"Speedy Implementation and Good Quality in the Third Echelon of Construction"]

[Text] The Jinan municipal CPC committee, in economic system reform and party rectification, has conscientiously strengthened the construction of the third echelon and has completed inspecting all the third-echelon candidates of the municipality and county (ward) and components directly under municipal control. Among the 250 third-echelon candidates above the county level, 88.8 percent are of the university level, 17.2 are females and their average age is 35.5 years.

Since August of last year, the organization department of the municipal party committee, in accordance with the plans of the municipal committee, adopted the resolute measure of selecting more than 60 cadres who are rather good in quality, liberal in ideology, candid in workstyle, fair in doing things and familiar with cadre work, in order to organize them into a group to inspect the third echelon. During the inspection, they permeated into the masses in accordance with the employment standard of the new epoch to carry out "the all-directional and open-style" approach to inspection to achieve the three insistences. The first insistence is on the cadres' "four modernizations" standard by conscientiously insisting on selecting the cadres who are aggressive in forging ahead, determined in reform, of the exploitative type who are able to open up new aspects and on not selecting those cadres who are simple minded and obedient and who attempt and accomplish nothing. Second, we must insist on paying attention to both academic achievement and ability in doing practical work by not selecting those cadres who hold diplomas but have no leadership capability not potential for future development. Third, we must insist on the reasonable formation of the ladder-shaped age structure and capabilities of the echelon, instead of paying attention to the decline in ages at each level or to professional capabilities. In this way the cadres selected will be of good quality and meet the requirements of the "four modernizations."

During their inspection work, they also paid attention to integrating the past performances of cadres with their current ones, to integrating the

recommendation by the leadership with the views of the masses; to integrating the judgment of the cadre's parent unit with that of other units and to integrating the back-to-back understanding with the face-to-face discussion of the subject of discussion. They fully carried out the line of the masses so that the results of their inspection would reflect the will of the masses and would give the inspectee an education.

In strengthening the construction of the third echelon, they paid special attention to politics and competence. They did not demand perfection nor did they stifle real talent. For those candidates about to be employed, key attention was paid to their organizational and leadership ability, exploitative spirit and actual accomplishments. For those young "seedlings," key attention was paid to their political quality, ideological purity, adaptability and development potential. For example, a party committee secretary in a street-level office had changed jobs four times, and in each of the units he was able to open up a new aspect and speedily achieved outstanding accomplishments. However, he was reported by some people as subjective and arbitrary and haughty and egotistical and did not want to listen to the opinions of others. Through inspection, they discovered that this cadre was courageous and forceful, dared to speak and act and was aggressive. As such he belongs to the exploitative type, and at the same time his way of criticizing others was crude and he was rather stubborn. Since he was not obstinate and despotic nor was he blindly foolhardy, they insisted on listing him in the third echelon.

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EAST REGION

DEZHOU ADOPTS MEASURES TO BUILD THIRD ECHELON

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by Gao Liqun [7559 4539 3123] and Zhu Dianfeng [2612 2013 1409]:
"Let Reserve Cadres Temper Themselves in Practical Work"]

[Text] The local CPC committee of Dezhou has adopted positive measures in strengthening the construction of the third echelon.

Since last year, the local party committee of Dezhou has implemented the reform on the leadership group of various levels and transferred a group of young and energetic cadres. At the same time, it selected 438 reserve cadres of the local and county level and 1,983 reserve cadres of the villages, towns and sections and bureaus directly under county control. Although the newly selected reserve cadres are rather strong in politics and professional qualifications, some of them lack work experience at the grassroots level due to their prolonged engagement in specific tasks, and a small number of them are weak in educational background. Against these situations, the local party committee, to improve their leadership levels and to make them competent at their incumbent work, has adopted positive measures and strengthened management to make up whatever is deficient. Starting from this year, the local party committee selects and transfers a number of reserve cadres working in government units to undergo tempering at the basic stratum. The first group of them will arrive at their new posts before mid-March. Some comrades will be assigned to work with the party rectification squads to be taught, assisted and guided by old comrades. Comrades who were in work of a unitary nature are given more and various kinds of work in order to enhance their overall leadership ability, and recently five comrades have at different times been given county-level leadership jobs. For the 10 county-level reserve cadres who are rather weak in academic achievement, the organization department of the local party committee has arranged for 6 of them to apply for the entrance examination for the party school operated by the provincial party committee. The party committees of both local and the county levels have made overall arrangements for the cultivation and management of all village- and town-level reserve cadres and have also distributed documents and summoned meetings to make plans.

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EAST REGION

FUJIAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

Meeting Opens

OW250049 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] The 12th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 6th provincial people's congress opened today in Fuzhou.

According to a decision by the meeting, the Third Session of the Sixth Fujian Provincial People's Congress will be convened on 27 April in Fuzhou.

The current meeting is one held by the Standing Committee before the Third Session of the Sixth Fujian Provincial People's Congress. Its main task is to examine, and discuss, the various questions to be submitted to the third session of the sixth provincial people's congress for deliberation and approval, and to make preparations for this session.

Today's meeting was presided over by Cai Li and Wang Zhi, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. In the morning, Gu Yipig, deputy secretary general of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, explained the draft agenda of this Standing Committee meeting. The agenda was adopted by the members of the Standing Committee. Then, Vice Chairman Guo Ruiren briefed the members on the guidelines established by the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress. In the afternoon, the meeting examined, discussed, and adopted the decision on the date of the Third Session of the Sixth Fujian Provincial People's Congress. It decided on a draft agenda for this forthcoming session, a draft namelist of members of the presidium and the secretary general, and a draft procedure for handling motions. It examined, and discussed, draft documents, including a report on the handling of motions made at the second session of the sixth provincial people's congress. It also examined, and discussed, a report on checking the credentials of those who had become deputies to the sixth provincial people's congress through by-elections.

Other vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress attending today's meeting were Kang Beisheng, Zeng Ming, Liu Yongyi, Hou Linzhou, and Cai Liangcheng.

Meeting Ends

OW260157 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] The 12th meeting of the 6th Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee ended on the afternoon of 24 April.

Hu Hong, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, attended the meeting.

In the morning, members of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee examined and discussed the revised draft of the program for building eight bases in Fujian and the explanations on the revised draft. The meeting offered suggestions on further revising the revised draft and submitted it to the third session of the sixth provincial people's congress for examination and approval.

In the afternoon, members of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee examined and discussed the draft of a work report of the Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and a work report on elections held in Fujian at the county and township levels.

Finally, the meeting approved personnel appointments.

Also attending the meeting were vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee Cai Li, Guo Ruiren, Kang Beisheng, Wang Zhi, Liu Yongye, and Cai Liangcheng. Vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee Zeng Ming and Hou Linzhou presided over the meeting.

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EAST REGION

FUJIAN PROVINCIAL CPPCC COMMITTEE OPENS SESSION

OW261331 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The Third Session of the Fifth Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee opened in Fuzhou on the morning of 25 April. Wu Hongxiang, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, presided over the inaugural ceremony.

Seated on the rostrum were provincial CPPCC committee Vice Chairmen Chen Xizhong, Ni Songmao, Jiang Xuedao, Xu Xianshi, Zhao Xiufu, Zuo Fengmei, Lu Tao, and Chen Yangzeng and provincial CPPCC committee Secretary General (Gu Naiyu). Also attending the inaugural ceremony were responsible persons of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress, and the provincial people's government Hu Hong, Cheng Xu, Wen Xiushan, Zhang Yumin, Cai Li, Guo Ruiren, Liu Yongye, Hou Linzhou, Cai Liangcheng, Huang Changxi, Cai Ninglin, and Wang Yishi and responsible persons of various democratic parties.

Chen Xizhong, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, delivered a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee. Ni Songmao, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, passed on the guidelines laid down by the Third Session of the Sixth National CPPCC Committee.

In his report, Vice Chairman Chen Xizhong reviewed the work of the Standing Committee of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee in the past year and summarized the results attained by the Standing Committee in bringing into full play the CPPCC's role in carrying out political consultations and exercising democratic supervision, in serving the policy of reform and opening the country to the outside world, in promoting the reunification of the motherland, in strengthening the work of actively helping mountain aborigines, and in consolidating the patriotic united front.

In his report, Vice Chairman Chen Xizhong pointed out: This year is the first year in reforming China's economic structure. Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee, we must firmly implement the guidelines laid down by the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress and the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, work harder than ever before, and make new contributions to helping Fujian become pacesetter in carrying out reforms and opening the province to the outside world and to realizing the peaceful reunification of the motherland at an earlier date.

In conclusion, the work report of the Standing Committee called on all CPPCC members to continue expanding the patriotic united front in the new period, to earnestly implement the policy of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision and the principle of treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe, to strive to bring into full play the fine tradition of the CPPCC, and to further develop the new situation in doing CPPCC work.

On the afternoon of 25 April, panel discussions were carried out to study the work report of the Standing Committee of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee and other reports.

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EAST REGION

FUJIAN LEADERS CONSULT HONG KONG CPPCC MEMBERS

OW301159 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Apr 85

[Text] Vice Governors Cai Ninglin and Huang Changxi met with Hong Kong and Macao members of the Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee at the provincial CPPCC building this morning. These committee members are currently here to attend the Third Session of the Fifth Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee.

Vice Governor Cai Ninglin briefed them on Fujian's fulfillment of its Sixth 5-Year Plan, and the changes taking place in all trades and industries in Fujian. He also cited some of the ideas conceived for Fujian's Seventh 5-Year Plan, and some of the problems existing in its current economic work. He said: The major problems are 1) the state of not being well informed; 2) a comparatively weak economic foundation and backward basic facilities; 3) insufficiency of qualified personnel and technical knowhow; and 4) shortage in energy, as reflected in shortage in the power supply and transportation means. He expressed the hope that committee members, in utter sincerity and a deep sense of common fate, and capitalizing on the unique conditions in Hong Kong and Macao and their personal social standing, make extensive contacts with Overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots with a view to soliciting their advice and contribution of efforts to Fujian's economic construction and restructuring.

Vice Governor Huang Changxi briefed them on our country's Overseas Chinese affairs policy in the new period, and some major tasks our province will undertake this year. He expressed the hope that committee members act as effective liaison workers to make new contributions to Fujian's opening to the outside world.

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EAST REGION

FUJIAN'S XIANG NAN WRITES PREFACE FOR BOOK

OW301323 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpts] "The most pressing task for everyone in Fujian is to develop strengths and eliminate weaknesses--a poor industrial and financial foundation and an underdeveloped economy--to make Fujian march in the van of the four modernizations drive." This is a passage in Comrade Xiang Nan's preface for the book "Zhongguo-Fujian" [China-Fujian].

"Zhongguo-Fujian" is a large desk reference book about Fujian, and the first book of its kind in 36 years containing comprehensive and systematic data on the province's past and present. Published in April this year, it is being sold to the public inside and outside China simultaneously in Fuzhou and Hong Kong.

The gilt characters on the exquisite cover, made of high grade velvet, are inscribed by Comrade Xiang Nan. In the preface, Xiang Nan outlines Fujian's natural conditions, geographic position, and strengths, represented by its "mountains, coast, Overseas Chinese, and special position." He points out in the preface: "Fujian must persist in opening to the outside world and invigorating its economy, implement special policies, adopt flexible measures, and map out its own development strategy. This calls for attention to its mountain and sea resources, and the building of the eight bases." "In mapping out strategy for its economic and social development, Fujian must properly coordinate results, speed, and staying power."

Song Zhuping is the chief editor of "Zhongguo-Fujian." Compilation was started in March 1984, and the book was completed in October the same year. It was printed by a printing house in Hong Kong.

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EAST REGION

FUJIAN: XIANG NAN MEETS ANHUI EXPERTS, PROFESSORS

OW301209 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] A group of professors and experts from the China University of Science and Technology, led by Secretary Yang Haibo of the university party committee, made a study tour of our province late last March at the invitation of the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government. They discussed issues of economic, technical, and educational cooperation with our province.

Xiang Nan, You Dexin, Zhang Gexin, Zeng Ming, and other comrades met with the guests from the China University of Science and Technology.

After a study tour of our province and consultations with provincial leaders, the experts and professors from the China University of Science and Technology decided that the university would serve as a base for the development of Fujian Province's science, technology, and education as well as for the training of personnel for the province. Meanwhile, Fujian would become a venue for the university to exchange talented people with coastal regions and foreign countries. The province would also serve as a channel for the university to import advanced technology, materials, and equipment. The China University of Science and Technology would expand its enrollment of outstanding senior middle school graduates; train for Fujian a certain number of undergraduates and postgraduates in certain subjects; conduct special and short-term training classes for our province; and admit college teachers, scientists, and technicians from the province to the university for advanced studies.

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EAST REGION

JIANGSU BUREAU TO CORRECT IRREGULARITIES

OW230609 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Apr 85

[Text] The provincial audit bureau has decided to correct new unhealthy practices and regard this remedy as the prime task in provincial audit work in 1985, according to a report by this station's correspondent (Jiang Lin).

An intensive investigation of issuing bonuses in cash and in kind without proper authority has been conducted in the province by audit departments at all levels over the past few months. The investigation revealed that more bonuses in cash and in kind were issued last year than in 1983. In addition to spending all the 1984 bonus in cash, many enterprises even used some funds for unauthorized purposes at the expense of state income. Bonuses issued by some other enterprises drastically increased their while economic performance results declined and their financial losses situation deteriorated. Supplies issued without authority covered almost everything in greater quantities. Some high-grade, choice quality goods were issued. Bonuses and supplies were issued even in the form of merchandise coupons or gift certificates.

Acting in accordance with the instructions of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government, the provincial audit bureau will curb the new unhealthy practices with special emphasis laid in correcting the unauthorized issuance of bonuses and supplies, unauthorized solicitations for donations, unlawful impositions of fines, and indiscriminate prorating of expenses. It will take stern measures against serious violations of financial and economic discipline, accounting frauds at the expense of state revenue, unauthorized price hiking, and other offenses that harm the interests of the state and the consumers. The provincial audit bureau will recommend to the leading party and government departments on how to handle the offenders according to the seriousness of their offenses.

The provincial conference on audit work ended in Jiangning County yesterday. It urged all the audit departments at various levels to bring their supervisory role into full play, adhere to the established principles in supervising work, and help promote the current economic reform.

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EAST REGION

PENG ZHEN SENDS WREATH TO JIANGSU FUNERAL

OW171345 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Excerpts] A ceremony for paying last respects to the remains of Liu Shuzhou, an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China and vice chairman of the China Association for Science and Technology, was held on the afternoon of 15 April in Nanjing.

Wreaths were presented by the CPPCC National Committee, the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the State Scientific and Technological Commission, the China Association for Science and Technology, the State Oceanography Bureau, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, and the Shanghai Municipal Government. Wreaths were also sent by Peng Zhen, Nie Rongzhen, Wang Zhen, Fang Yi, Song Renqiong, Xu Shiyu, Gu Mu, Ji Pengfei, Zhang Aiping, Zhang Jingfu, Chen Pixian, Peng Chong, Hu Juewen, Hu Yuzhi, Yan Yici, Rong Yiren, Ye Fei, Ji Fang, Huang Kecheng, Hu Ziang, Zhou Peiyuan, Mao Yisheng, Hua Luogeng, Tang Liang, Huang Dingchen, Qian Xuesen, Qian Sanqiang, Lu Jiaxi, Yan Dongsheng, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan, Wei Wenbo, Li Guohao, Zhang Xiangtong, Zhang Yuzhe, and (Feng Guan). Others sending wreaths were the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee, Advisory Commission, People's Congress, Government, and CPPCC Committee; the Nanjing City CPC Committee, Advisory Commission, and Government; the Yangzhou City CPC Committee and Government; and the Jingjiang County CPC Committee and Government; as well as Jiang Weiqing, (Liu Shenyuan), Hui Yuyu, Chen Guang, Han Peixin, Gu Xiulian, Chu Jiang, Chen Huanyou, Xin Shaobo, Wang Haisu, He Binghao, Zhong Guochu, Li Qingkui, Wang Bingshi, Hong Peilin, (Ye Jutao), Ling Qihong, Yang Yongyi, Zhang Xuwu, Jin Xun, Chen Ketian, Wu Yifang, Wei Yongui, Wang Zhaoquan, Liao Yunze, Deng Haoming, Gao Juefu, Chen Minzhi, Chen Suiheng, and Hua Chengyi.

Telegrams or letters expressing condolences were received from Hu Juewen, Ji Fang, Hu Ziang, Zhao Puchu, Xie Xide, Sun Xiaocun, Cheng Siyuan, Chen Guodong, Song Jian, Chen Haosu, and Han Zheyi.

The ceremony was presided over by Comrade Bao Yishan, secretary of the Leading Party Group of the China Association for Science and Technology.

Comrade Liu Shuzhou worked for the revolution for 50 years and dedicated his lifetime to the party's communist cause and the great motherland and people.

He always worked hard, displayed a creative spirit, was modest, prudent, and strict with himself, took the overall interests into consideration, and never gave a thought to his personal gains or losses. He was open and aboveboard, had moral integrity, was upright, and never stooped to flatter. In the past few years, he was in bad health but still worked persistently for the party until the last moment of his life.

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EAST REGION

JIANGSU BIRTH RATE DROPS DUE TO ATTITUDE CHANGE

OW011005 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0136 GMT 30 Apr 85

[By reporter Xu Jiling]

[Excerpts] Nanjing, 30 Apr (XINHUA)--Jiangsu's birth rate has declined notably over the past decade because of a change in the people's attitude toward childbirth. It declined by 20.26 percent in 1984 as compared with 1971.

A birth rate survey conducted recently by the province's family planning departments among women of childbearing age from 15 to 40 in Jiangsu indicated that women of this age group had an average of 4.16 children in 1970 and that this average dropped to 1.44 in 1983.

The survey revealed that many people changed their traditional attitude toward childbirth, which used to be "the more children, the better." A public opinion poll showed that more than 80 percent of the residents of Suzhou, Nantong, and Yangzhou cities said the current family planning program is conducive to both the state and the people themselves. Many people covered by the poll wrote on the questionnaire sheets: A large number of children will not bring you good luck but hardship.

The grassroots family planning programs initiated step by step in Jiangsu's urban and rural areas have also helped spur publicity of and education in birth control. For instance, women cadres, kindergarten teachers, doctors, and birth control medics in villages of Yongzhi township in Wuxian County visit local women of childbearing age on a regular and periodical basis to pass on birth control knowledge. The hard work of the family planning workers contingent in Jiangsu has also helped the birth rate decline in the province.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

JIANGSU GOVERNOR RETURNS HOME FROM FRG, ITALY

OW030355 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Apr 85

[Text] The Jiangsu economic and trade study group headed by Governor Gu Xiulian returned to Nanjing from Hong Kong by plane last evening, successfully winding up its tour to the FRG and Italy. The group was greeted at the airport by Chen Huanyou, Jin Xun, Li Zhizhong, Ye Xuchang, Cai Qiuming, and others of the provincial government and other departments concerned.

During their stay in the FRG, Governor Gu Xiulian and her party exchanged views with Minister President Johannes Rau [name, title as received] of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and other German leaders on promoting economic, trade, scientific and technological, and educational cooperation between Jiangsu and North Rhine-Westphalia. During their stay in North Rhine-Westphalia, the delegation held a reception to introduce Jiangsu's cooperation with foreign countries. Present at the reception were representatives of over 120 enterprises, including the (Krugborg) corporation of industrial technology. Members of the delegation also toured factories, seaports, and research institutes, and had extensive contacts and discussions with people of all circles, thus promoting mutual understanding and cooperation with the German people.

In the FRG, delegation members also paid tribute to the residence of Marx.

In Italy, Governor Gu Xiulian and her party visited Rome, Florence, and Venice, and had meetings with the three cities' leaders. They also had discussions with leaders of the Fiat Motor Company on matters concerning automobile production cooperation.

On 26 April, the delegation arrived in Hong Kong, where Governor Gu Xiulian and her party inspected the (Zhongshan) Company, Ltd, Jiangsu's showcase in Hong Kong for promoting the province's foreign economic relations and trade, and attended the company's opening ceremony.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

HAN PEIXIN ATTENDS JIANGSU MAY DAY RALLY

OW011345 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Apr 85

[By station reporter (Zhu Changsheng)]

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing City Trade Union Councils held a solemn rally at the Great Hall of the People in Nanjing today to commemorate the 1 May International Labor Day and the 60th founding anniversary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

At 1400 (Pan Ke), chairman of the provincial trade union council, declared the meeting open. Leading comrades attending the rally and seated in the front row on the rostrum were Jiang Weiqing, Liu Shunyuan, Han Peixin, Shen Daren, Liu Lin, Sun Han, Chen Huanyou, Ye Xutai, Cheng Weigao, Hu Fuming, Chu Jiang, Kang Di, Xing Bai, Wang Zhaoquan, and Guo Lianjie.

Shen Daren, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the rally.

[Begin Shen Daren recording] Comrades: The Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing Trade Union Councils are holding this solemn rally today to commemorate the 1 May International Labor Day and the 60th founding anniversary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. I would like to take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, festive greetings and warm regards to the comrades present here today and to the workers, intellectuals, and other working people on various fronts in the province. [applause]

The current economic and political situation in the country is excellent. Like in the rest of the country, great achievements have been made in the work in all fields in our province. Last year, the province's industrial and agricultural output increased, the people's livelihood improved, and progress was made in economic structural reform. A new situation characterized by sustained, steady, and coordinated growth has emerged in the economy.

The excellent situation does not mean that we have no shortcomings at all in our work. Problems still exist in our work. There are new situations and problems in our work that need to be studied and resolved. The task in the future is arduous.

The working class is the master of the country. It is our sacred duty to work for the prosperity of the country. We must strive to fulfill the goal set by the 12th CPC National Congress and, while continuously raising our social and economic efficiency, we must quadruple the province's gross annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century, thus contributing our share to building China into a highly democratic modern socialist country. To this end, we hope that the working class throughout the province will exert efforts in the following fields:

First, the broad masses of staff and workers in the province should display the spirit of being masters of themselves by earnestly making [words indistinct] reforms and carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy in order to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Second, it is necessary to strive to be workers with lofty ideals, moral integrity, general knowledge, and discipline.

Third, it is necessary to carry on the fine tradition of working hard and building up the country through thrift and hard work.

Fourth, it is necessary to study political affairs, general knowledge, science and technology, and advanced management knowledge.

The trade union organizations at various levels are the bridge linking the party and the masses. The party committees at all levels must strengthen the leadership over the work of trade unions, while all trade union organizations must make reforms and do a good job in building themselves. Trade union organizations must also step up investigation and study, continuously study the new situation and sum up new experience and, while leading the working class in promoting the socialist undertaking in our country, strive to fulfill the gigantic goals put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. [applause] [end recording]

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANDONG'S SU YIRAN ATTENDS OPENING OF WORKERS SPORTS EVENT

SK020451 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 May 85

[Excerpts] On the morning of 1 May, the second Shandong provincial workers sports event opened ceremoniously at the provincial people's stadium in Jinan city. This is another unparalleled large-scale sports event after the first provincial workers sports event in 1956. Attending the opening ceremony were leading comrades of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial advisory commission, the provincial discipline inspection commission, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC committee and Jinan city, including Su Yiran, Li Changan, Jiang Chunyun, Yang Xingfu, Zhou Zhenxing, Feng Lizu, Gao Keting, Wang Zhongyin, Qin Hezhen, Xu Leijian, Ma Changgui, Li Zichao, Zhai Yongbo and He Zonggui. Rao Shoukun and Zhang Feng, leading comrades of the Jinan Military Region, and [words indistinct] also attended. Also attending were responsible comrades of relevant provincial departments, representatives of the units and persons advanced in workers sports activities, and the masses from various circles, totaling more than 8,000 people.

Li Changan, member of the presidium of the sports event and deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, gave an opening speech.

Comrade Li Changan said: The political situation is stable and the economy is flourishing in our province at present, and a good situation rarely seen since the founding of the PRC has emerged on all fronts. Like other fronts, the physical culture and sports front has also witnessed an encouraging situation. During the past year, under the leadership of CPC committees and governments at various levels, the masses of sports workers throughout the province conscientiously implemented the party's line, principles and policies, developed physical culture and sports activities through various measures, pooled their wisdom and efforts to carry out sports undertakings, and thus increasingly improved the province's technical levels in physical culture and sports.

After citing the outstanding achievements scored by the province's athletes at major domestic and international events since last year, Comrade Li Changan said: Over the past year, the mass sports activities carried out by the workers contingents have also greatly developed in both range and quality. In the province, staff members and workers who participate in

sports activities regularly have increased to more than 2 million, and a great number of activists in mass sports activities and fine athletes have emerged. This workers sports event is precisely a large-scale review, competition and assessment of the workers sports activities. Through this event, we will also select a group of fine athletes to participate in the second national workers sports event to be held in Beijing in September. They will represent our province and stand among the top athletes of the country. We hope that all the athletes will carry forward the fine traditions of our country's good athletes, foster new sports ethics and style, dare to advance, fight indomitably, guard against complacency with success and discouragement with failure, and create their own style and levels in the competition.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI LEADERS AT PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CLOSING

OW011241 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Apr 85

[Text] Yesterday morning, after having satisfactorily accomplished the various items on its agenda, the Third Session of the Eighth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress triumphantly concluded at the auditorium of the Shanghai stadium.

The session called on the people in the municipality to adhere to the four basic principles, to be forward-looking, and to concertededly strive to create a new situation in the drive to build a socialist and modern Shanghai. The session also called on the people to strive to build Shanghai into a socialist, highly civilized, and modern city which is open in nature, serves multiple functions, has a rational production structure, and is advanced in science and technology.

Yesterday's session was presided over by Chen Yi, executive chairman of the session. Seated at the rostrum were executive chairmen of the session Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Chong Ming, Zhao Zukang, Shi Ping, He Yixiang, Di Jingxiang, Wang Tao, Liu Jingji, Tan Jiazhen, (Wang Guifang), (Li Jinglin), (Chen Liang), (Zhao Chenhe), and (Lu Deng). Also seated at the rostrum were Shanghai Mayor Wang Daohan; Vice Mayors Ruan Chongwu, Zhu Zongbao, Li Zhaoji, Liu Zhenyuan, Ni Tianzeng, and Ye Gongqi; Wang Xing, chief procurator of the municipal people's procuratorate; Su Buqing, vice chairman of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Committee of the National People's Congress; Li Guohao, chairman of the municipal CPPCC committee; and others.

A total of 815 delegates attended yesterday's session. The session unanimously passed a resolution on the report of the work of the municipal people's government, a resolution on the 1985 municipal economic and social development plan, a resolution on the 1984 municipal account and the 1985 municipal budget, a resolution on the report on the work of the municipal people's congress standing committee, a resolution on the report on the work of the municipal higher people's court, and a resolution on the report on the work of the municipal people's procuratorate. The session closed triumphantly with the solemn national anthem.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI COMMENTS ON MUNICIPAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

OW020100 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Apr 85

[Text] The Third Session of the Eighth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress has triumphantly concluded. In a democratic and realistic way, this session gave positive evaluations to the results of Shanghai's economic work in 1984 and correctly analyzed problems encountered along the course. After detailed discussions, the session laid down the major tasks and measures of Shanghai's economic work in 1985. We warmly congratulate the satisfactory and successful conclusion of this session.

The outline report on the Shanghai Economic Development Strategy was formally approved and implemented at the beginning of this year under the leadership and care of the central authorities and the State Council. The central authorities called on us to build Shanghai into a socialist, highly civilized, and modern city that is open in nature, that is multifunctional, and that will have a rational production structure and be advanced in science and technology at the end of the century through restructuring and invigoration. This was a historic and honorable mission entrusted to Shanghai by the central authorities and a great driving force and encouragement to the people of Shanghai.

This is the first year in implementing the Shanghai Economic Development Strategy. Mayor Wang Daohan clearly set forth the six primary tasks in his government work report. The key to accomplishing these tasks is to seriously implement the decision of the central authorities on economic structural reform and to do a good job in this year's reform work. We should resolutely implement the principles of "steadfastness, being prudent in striking out, and having the will to victory." We should lose no time in advancing an important step in price structure reform and wage reform so as to go a step further in various reforms. We should also continuously step up the building of a socialist civilization. We should, starting from the central task of economic construction, mobilize people with lofty ideals and organize people with strict discipline. We should especially instill into cadres at various levels the spirit of "tackling the problems before others and enjoying the fruits of the results after others" and of being a public servant to the people. We should continuously promote the excellent tradition of hard struggle and the building of the country through thrift and hard work. We should oppose the corrupt ideas of capitalism and feudalism and other types

of degenerative thinking and sanction and rectify new unhealthy tendencies to ensure the healthy development of reform, opening to the outside, and economic invigoration. We believe that, after this meeting, all the people in the municipality would certainly be able to open a new phase of great enthusiasm, great unity, and great prosperity in Shanghai through concerted efforts.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI PROMULGATES RULES BANNING GAMBLING

OW240409 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 85 p 2

["Regulations of Shanghai Municipality on Strict Prohibition of Gambling," approved by the 13th meeting of the 8th Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee on 28 February 1985]

[Text] Article 1. In accordance with the stipulations in the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China," "Regulations of the People's Republic of China Concerning Penalties in the Supervision of Public Order," and other relevant laws and statutes, and in the light of reality in the municipality, the following regulations are formulated to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, maintain healthy social conduct and good public order, strictly forbid gambling activities, and punish criminal activities in gambling.

Article 2. Gambling is an illegal criminal activity, which should be banned and punished in accordance with the regulations.

Article 3. Gambling funds and tools, as well as money and materials won by gambling, should, without exception, be confiscated by, or after investigation turned over to, public or judicial organs. Debts incurred during gambling, or from other participants in the game, should all be annulled.

Article 4. A person who has committed one of the following acts should, according to the seriousness of the case, be given a warning, a fine of under 100 yuan, or administrative detention:

- (1) Repeatedly committed to gambling, despite education;
- (2) Using draws, or other disguised forms of gambling, in defrauding others of a small amount of money or materials, and continuing to do so, despite education;
- (3) Refusing or obstructing, without using force, government public order maintenance personnel from performing their official duty of banning gambling according to law; and
- (4) Committing a less serious act of producing, marketing, or peddling a small amount of gambling tools.

Article 5. A person, who has committed one of the following acts, but has not reached a degree deserving criminal penalty, should undergo reeducation through labor, and be fined up to 500 yuan, if warranted:

- (1) Committing a less serious act of assembling people to gamble for profit;
- (2) Committing a less serious act of providing tools, funds, and places for gambling, in order to profit from it;
- (3) Committing a less serious act of snatching gambling funds or other materials at the gambling site;
- (4) Committing a more serious act of illegally producing, marketing, or peddling gambling tools;
- (5) Repeatedly using various gambling tools in swindling a small amount of money; and
- (6) Continually engaging in gambling, repeatedly punished by public security organs, and refusing to mend their ways, despite admonition.

Article 6. A person, who assembles people to gamble for profit, or lives on gambling, and commits other criminal activities during gambling, should be investigated for criminal liability, in accordance with the relevant stipulation in the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China."

Article 7. State functionaries, who take part in gambling activities, should be severely punished according to law.

Article 8. People and public security and judicial organs who have reported, or exposed, illegal gambling activities, should be commended and awarded.

Article 9. Those who take reprisals against persons reporting, or exposing, illegal gambling activities, should be given severe punishment according to law. Those who voluntarily confess their crime, stop gambling activities, and report, or expose, others participating in gambling, should be given lenient punishment, or exempted from penalty.

Article 10. The municipality's previous regulations on the prohibition of gambling are to be rescinded, after the regulations are promulgated and come into force.

Article 11. The regulations are to be promulgated and put into effect by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, after approval by the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee.

Article 12. The Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau may formulate, on the basis of the regulations, detailed rules for their implementation, and execute those rules after approval by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL CPPCC COMMITTEE TO MEET 20 APRIL

OW201131 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 16 Apr 85

[Text] At its 11th meeting yesterday, the Standing Committee of the Sixth Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee decided that the Third Session of the Sixth Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee will be held on 20 April. It disclosed that the session will hear and discuss the guidelines set forth by the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, hear and examine the work report submitted by the Standing Committee of the Sixth Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee, attend the Third Session of the Eighth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress as an observer to hear and discuss its various reports, and adopt various resolutions of the Third Session of the Sixth Municipal CPPCC Committee and the session's report on the examination of motions.

The meeting yesterday also decided to make the Motions Examination Committee a permanent organ chaired by Song Richang.

During group discussion yesterday afternoon, members of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPPCC Committee discussed the draft of the work report submitted by the Standing Committee of the Sixth Municipal CPPCC Committee and made certain amendments.

Zhang Chengzong, vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, chaired yesterday's meeting. Present at yesterday's meeting were Song Richang, Yang Shifa, Lu Yudao, Zhao Chaogou, Xu Yifang, Tang Junyuan, Dong Yinchu, and Wu Wenqi, vice chairmen at the Municipal CPPCC Committee.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI BANQUET FOR GDR'S GERALD GOETTING

OW250031 Shanghai WEN HUI BAI in Chinese 19 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Hu Lijiao, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, yesterday evening met and gave a banquet to welcome the delegation of the League for Friendship Among Peoples of the German Democratic Republic, headed by Gerald Goetting, deputy president of the People's Chamber, deputy chairman of the Council of State and president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples at Longbai Restaurant.

In a warm spring atmosphere, Chairman Hu Lijiao said: Although China and the German Democratic Republic are far apart, there is a great traditional friendship between the people of the two countries. The people of Shanghai have always had profound feelings for the German people. The development of relations between China and Germany is the common wish of the people of the two countries, because it not only accords with the interests of the people of the two countries, but is also conducive to peace in the world. Let us work together to further promote the growth of the Sino-German friendship tree and its fruits. In the building of socialist construction, Shanghai sincerely hopes to further expand friendly exchanges and cooperation with the German Democratic Republic in the economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural, and educational fields.

In his toast, President Goetting first conveyed regards from the people of the German Democratic Republic to the people of Shanghai. He said: The delegation's visit to China represents the constant development of the traditional friendship between the people of the two countries, and friendly relations between the two nations. He hoped that the people of Shanghai would achieve even greater success in building socialism.

Taking part in the meeting and banquet were Liang Geng, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; Chen Yi, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress; Sun Zhu, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Office of the municipal government; Jiang Feng, vice president of the Municipal Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; and Chen Yin, secretary general of the municipal government.

Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to China Rolf Berthold and his wife also attended the banquet on invitation.

The distinguished guests from the German Democratic Republic arrived in Shanghai from Xian by plane on 17 April. They visited the site of the CPC First National Congress, Fudan University, and the Youth Palace of the China Welfare Institute yesterday.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI OFFICIALS ATTEND MUNICIPAL CPPCC SESSION

OW281254 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The Third Session of the Sixth Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee successfully completed all agendas and closed at the Workers Theater in western Shanghai yesterday afternoon.

Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan, and other leading comrades of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, the municipal people's congress standing committee, the municipal people's government, and the PLA units stationed in Shanghai were invited to attend the closing ceremony. (Liu Zhenyi), vice chairman of the National CPPCC Committee, also attended the closing ceremony. Executive Chairmen Xu Yifang and Zhang Chengzong presided over the ceremony.

Li Guohao, chairman of the municipal CPPCC committee, delivered the closing speech at the ceremony. He said: This session has been held in a well-organized and vivid way. Members have deepened their understanding of the excellent situation in China's economic development and of the correct principles guiding the reform of the economic structure which are: be steadfast and prudent in fighting the first battle, and be sure to be victorious with the strategy to transform and develop Shanghai municipality into an open, multifunction modern socialist city with a rational industrial structure, advanced science and technology and high civilization, and with the present development and plan. As a result of the meeting, the members have strengthened their confidence.

The 489 members present at the closing ceremony unanimously raised their hands to approve the session's political resolution, the resolution on the work report of the sixth municipal CPPCC committee standing committee, and the report on the examination of motions.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

PENG ZHEN GOES ON INSPECTION TOUR OF SHANDONG

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by Cheng Deyuan [4453 1795 3293]: "Chairman Peng Zheng Came To Inspect Work in Our Province"]

[Text] CPC Central Politbureau member and NPC Standing Committee chairman Peng Zhen arrived in Shandong on 1 March for a 5-day inspection tour, after he had concluded his inspection in Zhejiang.

On the morning of 2 March, during the briefing on the work of the Shandong provincial party committee, Comrade Peng Zhen stated that we are now carrying out the reform of the economic system by paying special attention to the cities, and both the Central Government and the localities must release their authority to the enterprises, or otherwise the latter will not do well. He said that for many years we have been shouldering everything together; whenever we took action the result was suffocation, whenever we reformed the result was confusion, and whenever confusion occurred the result was termination. This cycle goes on all the time, but this time we cannot let it circulate any more. In reviewing the historical lessons of suffocation from our action and of slow development in the economy, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out that our current reform is a big reform which calls for reform in the system of the Central Government and the local governments and the system of enterprises and also for reform in prices and salary. Without reforming them we can hardly expect to mobilize the positive outlook of the cadre masses. The Central Government has to delegate its authority to the lower levels, and so must the province; by making measures suit local conditions the development will be speedier. In order to reform, we must penetrate to investigate and study. We should work on reforming one case as soon as the situation is clarified through investigation. Whenever a problem appears it must be conscientiously solved. The guiding principle of reform must be insisted upon.

On politics and legal work, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out that our estimate of the achievement in severely cracking down on serious criminal activities must be completed, and we should also see that this struggle is a prolonged one and that we should do a good job in comprehensive handling. He said that the youngsters were deeply affected by "the cultural revolution" and that we should rescue the youngsters who have committed crimes and should patiently educate them. The quality of education through labor work and of reform through

labor has to be improved. Once this work is done well, we will be able to change passive factors into positive factors.

During his sojourn in Shandong, Comrade Peng Zhen visited the worksite of the Sheng Li Oilfield. He excitedly told the cadres and the S&T personnel of the Sheng Li Oilfield, and of Dong Ying Municipality wherein the oilfield is located: "I want to express my congratulations and regards to all the brave and persistent cadres, employees and S&T personnel and their dependents who have struggled arduously to build the Sheng Li Oilfield. When we came to explore oil here years ago, you bravely, persistently and arduously worked to establish the enterprise; when we started to build this oilfield, you also worked arduously. I have just finished viewing your video movie, which fully depicts the brave and resolute fighting spirit of all the comrades of the Sheng Li Oilfield. Without that kind of spirit we would not have been able to build the Sheng Li Oilfield today. I congratulate your success." Comrade Peng Zhen urged all "to continue cooperation with one heart and to keep up the brave, persistent and arduous struggling spirit to advance in victory in reaching the scheduled goal." The nearly 200 cadres and engineering technical personnel who were received by Comrade Peng Zhen warmly clapped their hands to thank the revolutionist of an older generation for his intimate concern and encouragement. Comrade Peng Zhen also visited the families of the oilfield's engineering technical personnel.

During his sojourn in Shandong, Comrade Peng Zhen also inspected Jinan Municipality, Tai An Municipality and Heng Tai County.

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CSO: 4005/716

EAST REGION

ZHEJIANG TAKES MEASURES TO HELP MINORITY PEOPLE

OW231229 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Apr 85

[Text] In order to develop economic and educational work for people of minority nationalities in Zhejiang, the provincial government has made a six-point decision:

1. Starting this year, the provincial government will appropriate funds for promoting economic and educational development in areas resided in by people of minority nationalities.
2. Minority people's townships in the province will be exempted from agricultural and indigenous products taxes for 1-3 years and industrial and commercial income taxes for 1-5 years.
3. Departments concerned will continue to run well the Provincial Normal School for People of Minority Nationalities and various classes for people of minority nationalities at Wenzhou Medical College, Wenzhou Public Health School, Lishui Public Health School, and senior middle schools in eight counties.
4. It is necessary to pay attention to providing treatment for local diseases in townships and villages resided in primarily by people of minority nationalities, actively train medical workers for areas resided in by people of minority nationalities, and make efforts to improve the inadequacy of medical care.
5. It is necessary to pay attention to improving living conditions for people of minority nationalities. The food departments should make arrangements for solving the problem of grain ration shortages. The commercial departments should sell cotton cloth, cotton fiber, mosquito nets, and ready-made clothes on credit to poor families in need of help on credit. The commercial departments should also increase commercial outlets in mountainous areas resided in by people of minority nationalities.
6. Governments at various levels should strengthen leadership over the work for people of minority nationalities. It is necessary to assign cadres who are familiar with nationality policy and enthusiastic in serving people of minority nationalities to cities, prefectures, and counties with a relatively large number of minority people.

CSO: 4005/862

EAST REGION

PROVINCIAL PARTY SCHOOL BEGINS CADRE TRAINING CLASS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 85 p 1

[Article: "Opening Ceremony of First Leadership Cadre Training Class of Provincial Party School"]

[Text] Yesterday (2 March) morning, the first leadership cadre short-term training class of the provincial party school held its opening ceremony. Li Chang'an [2621 2490 1344], deputy secretary of provincial party committee and the principal of the provincial party school, and Deputy Governor Lu Hong [4151 3163] attended and spoke at the ceremony.

This training class has as its guidance the basic spirit of "The Decision on the Reform of the Economic System" of the 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and as its primary subjects the basic theory and related policy of finance, taxation, loans, insurance, prices and business management. Its study time is 1 month, and three more classes are scheduled to be held in succession. More than 140 deputy secretaries of local and municipal party committees, deputy chiefs of administrative areas, deputy municipal chiefs, secretaries of county and prefectural party committees, county chiefs, prefectural chiefs and deputy county chiefs and deputy prefectural chiefs in charge of financial and economic work participated in this training class.

Comrade Li Chang'an first spoke on the meaning, the aim and the requirement in holding this training class. He said that since 1983 our province has gradually adjusted the leadership groups of various levels in accordance with the "four modernizations" requirements of cadres. Inspection has revealed that the basic quality of the new leadership groups of various levels is good and that a big stride toward revolutionization, younger age, better knowledge and professionalization has been made. However, in viewing the whole picture, the new leadership group still does not form a complete and comprehensive knowledge structure. Not a few comrades, being limited by the scope of their former assigned specific work, feel insufficient in experience and knowledge when given a leadership job. At present, some comrades especially lack a basic knowledge in finance and economics. For instance, they do not understand well or even do not know the role of taxation, banks and business management in the whole national economy. We therefore should not only use

our cadres but should also pay attention to their cultivation by giving them on-the-job training and also intensive training in a certain period of time.

Chang Li Chang'an said that this year is the year of reform and that under the new situation of reform we have much work to do and must have a new workstyle and way to work. We must penetrate into the realities, investigate and study, be bold and do well in reform, respect science and seek the truth from facts. This training class has lectures given by the responsible persons of the governing departments and bureaus concerned of the provincial government and presents a good opportunity for exchange between superior and subordinate levels and for them to learn from one another. We should achieve the goal of giving lectures during class and listening to suggestions after class, so that the training class is made into a study and research class for enhancing knowledge, making suggestions for improving the financial and economic work of our province and at the same time undertaking a good start to doing a good job in training cadres.

Comrade Lu Hong introduced in his speech the promising situation in our province's industrial and agricultural production and made suggestions on running the training class.

The responsible comrades of the components concerned of the provincial party committee and the provincial government attended the school's opening ceremony.

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CSO: 4005/716

EAST REGION

REFLECTIONS ON POLICY ON STATE, COLLECTIVES, INDIVIDUALS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Xue Bai [1331 2672]: "A Few Philosophical Reflections on the Guiding Principle of Having the State, Collectives and Individuals Go Ahead Together"]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee's "Decision on the Reform of the Economic System" suggested that in order to develop the socialist economy, the state, collectives and individuals should go ahead together. This is not only an important development in the socialist political economy but is also based on a rich philosophy.

First, the forces of production decide the relations of production. The change in the relations of production and in the direction, form and degree of change are decided by the conditions of the development of the forces of production. This principle of historical materialism is valid in any society. The guiding principle of having the state, collectives and individuals go ahead together in developing the socialist economy was suggested from the practical situation of the development of our country's forces of production. The most prominent characteristic in the development of our country's economy is its imbalance. Among regions, the levels of the forces of industrial and agricultural domestic production are different. We have the large-scale socialist production of unified labor, and also have diversified self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient production; we have the production of a rather high degree of automation and mechanization, and also have semi-automatic and semi-mechanized production, as well as a large amount of manual labor. This kind of multi-level nature and imbalanced system of the forces of production determines that our ownership system and mode of operation should also be multi-leveled and diversified. Only by implementing the policy of having the state, collectives and individuals going ahead together and achieving rational set up and coordinated development of various economic forms and management methods can we make the urban and the rural economy prosperous, people's living conditions comfortable and propel the development of production forces.

Second, this guiding principle is based on the theory of the role of the people's masses in social production. The people's masses are the basic strength in propelling the progress of the society. In the past, we often

verbally stressed this theory of historical materialism, yet often contradicted this theory in our practical work. The long-held idea and operational mode in depending on the collective economy and excluding the individualized economy especially have seriously hurt the positive outlook of a great majority of the people's masses. The implementation of having the policy of various forms of economy and ways of operation going ahead together will enable us to mobilize the wisdom, ability and creativity of all the workers, and to concentrate their energies on investing in the torrent of reform and in the four modernizations construction. The carrying out of this guiding principle means also the substantive employment of the party's mass viewpoint and mass line in developing the socialist economy in the new situation.

Third, this guiding principle also realizes the dialectical principle that the world is based on unified diversification. The people see rather clearly the diversified nature of our country's current economic modes and ways of operation, but they can hardly comprehend its unification in diversified nature. Some people therefore worry that the implementation of many economic forms and ways of operation, especially the tolerance of an individualized economy and a joint capital economy with foreigners and the existence of foreign businessmen's monopoly capital, will jeopardize the nature of our country's socialism. Dialectical materialism tells us that the nature of matter is decided by its primary contradiction and its primary aspect. A society wherein capitalist ownership occupies a ruling is a capitalist society. In the same way, a society wherein socialist public ownership occupies a ruling status is a socialist society. As Marx pointed out, in all the social forms there is a kind of production and relations of production that decides and governs the other kinds of production and relations of production. "This is a light that illuminates everything, wherein are hidden all the colors, and the characteristics of all the colors are changed by this light." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2 p 9.) In a socialist society, this "illuminating of all light" of public ownership affects in a big way the nature of all the other forms of economy and ways of operation for them to display a color different from their original ones. It matters not if it is the individual economy of the worker, the joint Chinese-foreigner capital economy or the foreign businessmen's monopoly capital economy, their operation and activities are done within the scope permitted by the state's policy and regulations. This development is beneficial to the enhancement of the social forces of production. As such they are the beneficial supplement required by socialist public ownership, and they will not bring about capitalism. Therefore, in spite of the current diversified economic forms and ways of operation in our country, they all conform to the need of developing the forces of socialist production and are unified under the premise of socialism.

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CSO: 4005/716

EAST REGION

ROLE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM DISCUSSED

Necessity of Academic Freedom

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 10 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Zhu Yaoren [2612 5069 0086]: "Academic Freedom Is Essential to the Development of Theories"]

[Text] This paper has learned that yesterday Yu Guanyuan [0060 0342 6678], consultant to the China Academy of Social Sciences and renowned economist, briefed the conference held jointly by the Shanghai Municipal Department of Propaganda and the Academy of Social Sciences. Yu Guanyuan pointed out that people in the social sciences should give top priority to the development of Marxism. Reform efforts desperately need the guidance of Marxism; the development of Marxism can be expedited by reform.

Yu Guanyuan's report was entitled "On Marxism--the Science that Facilitates Socialist Construction." He stated that creative freedom is essential to literary and artistic advancement and that the development of theories is based upon academic freedom. The study of Marxism cannot be expected to be extensive and fruitful without an open academic atmosphere. He also pointed out that full-scale economic reform must be conducted on the basis of a tightly constructed superstructure. The coexistence of a thriving economy with a conservative and backward superstructure is inconceivable. He also enlarged upon how Marxism should develop.

More than 500 people, including those engaged in work in the social sciences and cadres from the Municipal Ministry of Propaganda, listened to his report. The conference was presided over by the minister of propaganda, Wang Yuanhua. Also present was the secretary of the Academy of Social Sciences' party committee, Hong Ze.

Purpose of Philosophy Classes

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by reporter Zheng Zhong [6774 6850]: "Philosophy Classes Should Teach Students How To Think"]

[Text] On the evening of 10 January this reporter attended a lively seminar on philosophy at Fudan University. The seminar, chaired by graduate student in philosophy Yu Wujin, focused on the topic "The Mission of Reform and Philosophy."

The seminar took place in a room large enough to accommodate between 200 and 300 people—probably the largest classroom in Fudan University. Every seat was taken and there were also people standing at the door and between the rows of chairs. Everyone waited eagerly for the seminar to begin. Some students had been there since the afternoon to get good seats. I was told that the seminar attracted even more people than some dancing parties. Why is it that students were so enthusiastic about and interested in the seminar?

This seminar was the last of a series of seminars held by the graduate students of the Department of Philosophy. The chair pointed out that in philosophy beginnings and endings are regarded as one. The conclusion of this particular series of seminars marks for every participant the beginning of a new phase by forcing him or her to ask the question: what do I do? Philosophy does not provide people with answers to their problems; it merely makes people think so that they can know and transcend themselves. This series of seminars can be considered a success if it succeeds in instilling this idea in students. Participants raised one question after another. Some even proceeded to make speeches on their understanding of the subject. A female student had written a piece of poetry entitled "When the World Was Young" for the seminars. One of the participants said, "This series of seminars did not teach us anything new or answer any questions; however, it stimulated our minds and instilled in us an idea, and that is that we should think for ourselves."

How did these seminars stimulate people's minds? The answer may lie in the 15 lectures given at these seminars: "The Great Tradition of Western Humanism—Beginning with the Ethics of Kant," "What Is Science—A Definition by Contemporary Philosophy and Science," "The Existentialist Philosophy of Life," "Inspiration Drawn from Toynbee's Philosophy of History and a Look at the Modern History of China," "The Unique Direction of Oriental Civilization—Major Issues Concerning the Philosophy on History," "New Ideas of Contemporary Soviet Philosophers," "Marxism and the Contemporary World," "The Buddhist Outlook on Life," etc. Students were in the company of Marx, Kant, Nietzsche, Freud, Toynbee, Sartre and Buddha. These lectures offered students an opportunity to conduct selective analyses, which stimulated their intellects. This is something that cannot be experienced at dances.

This kind of seminar may be very inspirational to philosophy classes. Some of my friends who teach philosophy or political science feel that it is difficult to make students interested in these subjects. I think this phenomenon can be attributed to the present status of the subject of philosophy. New challenges have arisen as a result of scientific progress, social development and deeper human awareness. Do we have the courage to admit to the fact that our approach to the subject of philosophy is simplistic, stereotyped and obsolete? Do our writings on philosophy reflect new scientific

discoveries, theories and ideas? What would happen to our study of philosophy if we restricted our analyses to Marxist writings, "beat around the bush" when it comes to the subject of "two systems in one country" and stayed "impregnable" to various schools of philosophy? If we proceeded on the basis of past experiences, we would be able to move forward; if we didn't, we could only play second fiddle to the theories of others.

Our philosophy classes should aim at nurturing great philosophers and thinkers and not just a few theory instructors. We should have such foresight and ambition.

While I was lost in these thoughts, the seminar came to an end. All those who had given lectures were present because this was the "concluding seminar." Students gathered around them to continue the discussion or ask for autographs and offer a few words of encouragement. The lecturers did not know for sure what to say. "The young have not tasted sorrow," "we feel responsible for history; we share the same fate as history; we are history!" These words were for others as well as themselves to ponder upon.

Importance of Academic Societies

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Feb 85 p 4

[Article by Liu Ting [0491 3060]: "We Should Help Members of Academic Societies Obtain Information"]

[Text] It has been estimated that approximately 40 percent of the scientific research projects in China are repetitive efforts. These efforts not only consume a tremendous amount of money, material and manpower, they also waste an impressive amount of human intellect and obstruct the modernization movement. We should stress the interchange of information in order to resolve this problem.

The characteristic of modern scientific research is that 90 percent of the effort to invent a product or discover new forms of technical know-how lies in putting together information that is already available through a variety of channels and the remaining 10 percent of the effort lies in one's ability to create. This is why some people call the contemporary effort to invent things the art of synthesizing. In Japan, the people who work in the field of scientific technology proclaim that to synthesize is to create!

People in science and technology regard academic societies as their second lives because they yearn to obtain information that cannot be obtained elsewhere. For these people, the most valuable information is the kind that can be applied. As has been pointed out by the renowned scientist Li Zhengdao, "They are not interested in what others are doing, but rather what cannot and has not yet been done." The huge number of journals contain a large volume of information, yet they cannot be sufficiently utilized without

proper evaluation and selection. Moreover, it takes a long time for academic results to appear in journals. In the U.S., this period is on the average 1 and 1/2 years; in China, it is even longer. Many hypotheses, ideas, topics, concepts, techniques and methods cannot develop without the interchange of experiences, discussions, debates and stimulation. This is why academic societies should make an effort to organize the interchange of academic experiences.

In other countries, the interchange of academic experiences and academic discussions is described as "constituting the largest experimental field," the "source of new concepts" and an "information express." Modern scientific research has progressed from the individual and the parochial mode to the collective and catholic mode. If one confines oneself to a narrow environment, one would be kept out of what is happening and face a dead end. Academic exchange efforts and discussions can lead one to "a higher ground" because they expose people to differing viewpoints, approaches, concepts, methods and experiences. Academic exchanges and discussions are becoming increasingly popular in other countries. They take place in classrooms, cafeterias, restaurants, coffee shops, labs and cars and on boats and airplanes. In some cafeterias, round tables have been replaced with rectangular ones so that more people can take part in discussions. The math wizard Hua Luogen urged those who participate in academic discussions to "spend less time talking about the weather and more on academic experiences." These discussions are valuable because they enable people in the same field to exchange experiences, raise questions, ask for assistance and debate with one another freely and openly. The saying "I have learned more from listening to you than from studying for 10 years" is not an exaggeration. Academic discussion sessions have enabled many people to make friends, find copartners and advisors and become successful.

Academic societies should be fully aware of the meaning and significance of academic exchanges. At present, we should stress three things. First, we should foster an atmosphere for academic exchanges. Second, academic discussions should take place in a variety of formats, including both small and large groups; however, we should center around small groups because they allow individuals to speak up freely. Third, we should carefully organize academic discussion sessions, allow people to speak up, support those young people who dare to be different and be fearless in criticizing the incorrect views of authorities and celebrities. In addition to academic exchanges and discussion sessions, there are of course many other channels through which academic societies can help their members acquire information. They should be pursued as long as they are proven effective and beneficial.

Academic Freedom and Progress

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Feb 85 p 4

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535]: "Academic Freedom and the Development of Marxism"]

[Text] Literary and artistic circles and the field of theory are fellow

sufferers. The several storm that have raged since the founding of the nation have often hit literary and artistic circles first before endangering the field of theory and the entire intelligentsia.

Literary and artistic circles are the barometer of the entire intelligentsia. The fourth general membership meeting of the Chinese Writers Association held recently accomplished two objectives. First, it pledged itself to freedom of literary and artistic creation. Second, it announced that the personnel affairs of the association will be handled by the meeting itself. This marks a new beginning for the entire intelligentsia. Writers hail that the "golden age of socialist literature has arrived." Unquestionably, the entire intelligentsia will witness its golden age as a result. Everyone is excited about it.

During his congratulatory speech made on behalf of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Qili said, "Socialist literature enjoys true freedom," and "the party, government, literary and artistic societies and the entire society should work hard to assure the existence of such freedom" and "create the necessary conditions, environment and atmosphere for literary and artistic freedom." This was exactly what writers had hoped to hear, and since it came from the secretary of the party Central Committee it must carry a lot of weight. It demonstrates that the party is determined to eradicate "leftist" tendencies and adhere to the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in order to assure artistic freedom. This approach can be extended to the field of theory and even the entire intelligentsia. The literary world must have artistic freedom; by the same token, academic circles should also have academic freedom.

Freedom is a lofty ideal in Marxist writings. It has been said that "freedom is awareness of the necessary," that it signifies "the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom" and that the old society will inevitably be replaced by "an integrated complex of free individuals" whereby "individual freedom is the prerequisite for the freedom of all." In China, because people have been exposed to "leftist" ideology for a long time, the word freedom brings to mind a uniquely bourgeois concept with a derogatory connotation. What kind of freedom did the laboring masses enjoy in the old society? Even in developed capitalist countries, the threat of unemployment is ever-present. Roosevelt's "four freedoms" do not include "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear." Only socialism can bring the laboring masses a freedom unrivaled in the old society. The Chinese Constitution states that "citizens of the People's Republic of China have the freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of association and the freedom to demonstrate and protest"; it also declares that all citizens "have religious freedom." It goes without saying that artistic and academic freedom is within the domain of the above-mentioned category and should therefore be protected by the Constitution.

Academic freedom should be an inherent feature of Marxism. Marxism is a science which demands to be treated, and which treats all academic subjects

and sciences, in a scientific manner. This is what is meant by "the more truth is debated, the clearer it becomes." Academic and scientific disputes have to be resolved through free discussions and experiments; they cannot be resolved by violence, power or personal likes and dislikes. Marx and Engel carried forward and improved all of the positive results of human civilization in a revolutionary fashion and formulated Marxism. Only academic freedom will enable Marxism to continue to develop as human civilization keeps on progressing. Academic sectarianism, scholar-tyrants and individualism are incompatible with Marxism. Only academic freedom can lead to an understanding, and the development, of Marxism.

The policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the long-term and fundamental goal of our party in its effort to develop socialist scientific and cultural undertakings. The phrase "let a hundred schools of thought contend" suggests two levels of meaning. First of all, differing schools of thought and people that hold differing views within the same field of study should contend with one another. Second, "contend" means we should "compete" with one another in "expressing" personal beliefs. If we allow absolute silence to reign or one particular school of thought to prevail, the discussions can only be monotonous. "Contending" with one another should involve uninhibited discussions and heated debates. We must allow all of the "hundred schools of thought" to "contend"; we should not repeat the mistake of having only two schools--Marxist and non-Marxist--contend with each other. Because such a practice allows Marxists (or self-styled Marxists) to discriminate against and disparage non-Marxists (or self-styled non-Marxists), it stifles free discussions and obstructs or even destroys academic progress.

During the "cultural revolution," "every single word" uttered was considered "truth" and the "little red book" was the ultimate standard by which all things were measured. The craze to worship the "authority" and the "book" reached its peak during this period. The policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was thoroughly negated and academic circles witnessed a giant leap backward in a "most disastrous way." Haven't we learned from this lesson?

The 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee resumed the Marxist ideological line and reaffirmed the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." However, the pernicious influence of "leftist" ideology cannot be eradicated all at once. Due to the lengthy exposure to "leftist" influence, many problems have remained unsolved and the issue concerning academic freedom has not been discussed publicly. The policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has not been fully implemented and people do not have the initiative to think freely and independently.

Marxism is a science and the truth; it is not apprehensive of criticisms and can withstand any criticism. Marxism cannot continue to develop without criticism and counter criticism. Because socialism is a far more

progressive and a better system than capitalism, we should not be apprehensive of discussing its problems. Discussions can only help us overcome the weaknesses and bring into the open the strengths of Marxism. The domino theory does not apply in this particular case because discussions cannot undermine Marxism. Some comrades are concerned that discussions would weaken the foundation of Marxism and socialism and have therefore restricted or interfered with certain academic discussions. Political interference with academic affairs happens at all times and in all countries, but it almost always brings about negative or even disastrous results. For example, Stalin's criticisms of Mendelian genetics resulted in huge agricultural losses and were destructive of the science of biology in the Soviet Union. Academic issues, especially those related to social sciences, seem inseparable from politics. Nevertheless, we can draw a line by stating that any academic discussions that do not violate the Constitution and the law should be respected and protected.

Obstruction of academic discussions can also be attributed to the erroneous practice of certain academic leaders. They have failed to act by the principle of "everyone is equal in the eyes of the truth" when people present conflicting views or new concepts. Instead of seeking truth by participating in discussions, making speeches or writing articles as scholars, they claim to be orthodox Marxists and authorities, intimidate and harass others and judge things on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. They promote and publicly praise those who agree with them and criticize, persecute and even fire those who do not and prohibit their articles from being published. All this has resulted in a "lingering fear" and generated "anticipated fear" among intellectuals and led to the erroneous practice of drifting with the tide and "worshipping the authority." How then can there be academic freedom and progress?

China's economy is thriving as a result of the party's responsive domestic economic policy and open-door international policy. Ideological work should be conducted on the basis of historical lessons and eschew "leftist" approaches such as harsh and extensive criticisms. We must not stifle this robust economy. In today's world, academic freedom inevitably follows economic freedom. As the mass media become increasingly advanced, people are becoming better informed and we cannot stop them from thinking. In recent years, some restrictions on academic circles have been lifted and we have introduced from abroad scientific technology and managerial skills; however, more restrictions on the field of academic theory should be lifted. There are two disadvantages to remaining ignorant of the academic theories in other countries. First, it prevents us from acquiring new information and understanding scholarly achievements made abroad. This is disadvantageous to the academic development and the construction of the four modernizations in China. Some of the things which we regard as "heresies" are not necessarily so. A typical example would be the recognition that a commodity economy exists in socialism and that a planned economy should be based upon a commodity economy. The second disadvantage is that we lack the ideological preparation for imported ideas and are unable to criticize erroneous thinking.

The lifting of restrictions on academic circles is essential to achieving academic freedom. We should import and export more books and journals, engage actively in translation, promote academic exchange programs and stay informed of the latest developments in the world. We should also study in a well-organized manner new ideas developed abroad and keep abreast of the most recent information. We should expedite academic development in China so that it can meet the demands of the four modernizations.

Finally, we should also reform the system of social sciences, which is incompatible with the pursuit of academic freedom. The system of leadership, organization, approaches and methods of social sciences in China are the products of the 1950's. They tend to be overcentralized, burdened with details and lacking in horizontal links among various subjects. This parochial and rigid system of social science can be attributed directly to "leftist" influence. It is disadvantageous to achieving academic freedom, discourages the masses of research personnel from taking the initiative and is out of line with the present economic reform and the latest development of natural and social sciences. In order to rise to the challenge of the imminent reform of the system of scientific technology which follows the economic reform, we should promote academic freedom by transforming the parochial and rigid managerial system of the social sciences into one that is open, flexible and capable of bringing into full play the initiative of research personnel.

We applaud the arrival of the literary golden age. We await with bated breath accelerated progress in the field of academic theory.

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CSO: 4005/571

EAST REGION

BRIEFS

ANHUI CPPCC COMMITTEE MEETING--The 13th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee was held in Hefei 20-22 April. Sun Zongrong, vice chairman of the Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting. Li Qingquan, Wang Zezong, Sun Youqiao, Pan Ezhang, Zheng Jiaqi, Cao Zhenqiu, Ma Leting, Ding Jizhe, and Guang Renhong, vice chairmen, attended. The meeting relayed the guidelines of the Third Meeting of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee and the Third Session of the Sixth NPC, and held lively discussions on the guidelines. Participants pledged to promote political consultation and democratic supervision and enthusiastically work to contribute wisdom and effort to Anhui's economic aspirations. [Excerpts] [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Apr 85 OW]

FUJIAN MAY DAY MEETING--The Fujian provincial meeting to mark international labor day and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions was held in Fuzhou on the morning of 30 April. Xiang Nan, Hu Hong, Zhang Yumin, Yuan Gai, Cai Ninglin, (Bai Chaoji), You Dexin, and other leading comrades and responsible persons of departments concerned were present at the meeting. Hu Hong, permanent secretary of the provincial party committee, made an important speech at the meeting, entitled "The Working Class Must Unflinchingly Make Reforms." On behalf of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, Comrade Hu Hong extended the warmest congratulations to representatives of advanced individuals who honorably won the "1 May labor medals." He also extended May Day greetings to the working class and the working people and all trade union workers in the province. He encouraged all representatives to the meeting to stand in the forefront of the reform as masters of the country and make contributions to the four modernizations. [Excerpt] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 Apr 85 OW]

OFFICIALS VISIT FUZHOU EXHIBITION--A calligraphy and painting exhibition of the Fujian Provincial People's Congress was opened in the Exhibition Hall at 1 May Square in Fuzhou city on the morning of 1 May. The exhibition is jointly sponsored by the General Office of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and Fujian chapters of the Chinese Artists' Association and Chinese Calligraphers' Association. Provincial leading comrades Xiang Nan, Hu Hong, and Wu Hongxiang visited the exhibition in the morning. Deputies attending the third session of the sixth provincial people's congress and members attending the third session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee also visited the exhibition in succession. [Excerpts] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 May 85 OW]

JIANGSU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION--The 12th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 6th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress, opening this morning, decided to convene the 3d Session of the 6th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress on 8 May in Nanjing. Today's meeting will discuss and decide various problems to be submitted to the Third Session of the Sixth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress for examination, and make good preparations for the success of the session. The meeting will also discuss and approve the work report of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the draft agenda of the third session, and seven agenda items related to suggested name lists of the presidium and secretary general of the third session. Chu Jiang, chairman of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over today's plenary meeting. Beginning in the afternoon, the plenary meeting discussed various reports in groups, including the report of the Standing Committee's General Office on how it handled the motions, suggestions, criticisms, and opinions offered by deputies during the Second Session of the Sixth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress. [Excerpts] [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Apr 85 OW]

SHANDONG PREFECTURE'S INTELLECTUALS--Party organizations and governments in Dezhou Prefecture of Shandong Province have attached importance to implementing the policy on intellectuals. Thus far, 1,628 intellectuals of the prefecture have been promoted to leading bodies at various levels. In 1983 and 1984, 2,035 intellectuals of the prefecture were admitted to the party. [Summary] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 85 p 2 SK]

SHANDONG CITY PARTY MEMBERS--Jining city in Shandong Province has recruited 2,299 intellectuals into the party since last year, amounting to 55 percent of the new party members recruited at the same time, and the total of the intellectuals recruited in the previous 4 years. Some 1,680 intellectuals have been promoted to the leading bodies of districts, counties, and cities, thus greatly changing the knowledge structure of leading bodies. [Excerpt] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 85 p 1 SK]

SHANGHAI MAYOR MEETS HONG KONG BUSINESSMEN--According to a report by the Shanghai XINHUA branch, Mayor Wang Daohan yesterday met with Mr (Ma Shiming), executive director of the board and executive president for administration of the Hong Kong (Heji-Huangpu) consortium, and his party. The two sides held an extensive discussion on the cooperation between Shanghai and the consortium and agreed to set up a joint work group to study cooperation projects. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 18 Apr 85 OW]

CONGOLESE GROUP IN SHANGHAI--Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, met with and feted a delegation from the Senior Party School of the Congolese Labor Party at the Guoji Hotel in Shanghai on the evening of 24 April. The delegation is headed by (Francois Obongwe), member of the Secretariat and commandant of the Senior Party School of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee. Present were Wu Bangguo, member of the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee; (Yan Jiadong), vice president of the municipal CPC committee's party school; and other comrades. The delegation arrived in Shanghai on 23 April. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 25 Apr 85 OW]

MACEDONIAN DELEGATION IN JIANGXI--Ma Jikong, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, cordially met with a goodwill delegation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia at the (Yuan) Hall on the fifth floor of the Jiangxi Guesthouse at 1100 today. The two sides held talks. Following the meeting, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress gave a dinner party in honor of the Macedonian guests. Among those present at the meeting and the dinner party were Wang Shufeng, Wang Zemin, and Liang Kaixuan. [Text] [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Apr 85 OW] Nanchang, April 26 (XINHUA)--An agreement on expanding friendship and cooperation between Jiangxi Province and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was signed here today. The signatories to the document were Acting Governor of Jiangxi Province Ni Xiance and President of the Executive Council of Assembly of Macedonia Dragoljub Stavrev. The two sides agreed that they would exchange delegations, train technicians for each other and expand trade. Stavrev arrived here April 23. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1903 GMT 26 Apr 85 OW]

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

CALL TO CHECK UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES ISSUED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 17 Feb 85 ppl, 3

[Article: "Guangzhou CPC Committee's Party Rectification Guidance Group Calls on Party Rectification Units To Check Unhealthy Tendencies"]

[Text] The CPC Committee's Party Rectification Guidance Group yesterday issued a "Notice About Conscientiously Examining and Firmly Checking Unhealthy Tendencies Which Have Occurred Under the New Situation," and its contents are as follows:

Recently, our leading comrades of the central authorities have many times seriously pointed out that in the process of carrying out the reform of the economic system, we must be alert about two unhealthy tendencies. The first is that some party or administrative organizations or personnel from these organizations fraudulently purchase or steal urgently needed or scarce materials; the second is that some enterprises raise the price of products at will and infringe on the consumers' interest. On 1 February, the General Office of the Communist Party and the Office of the State Council, aiming at the recent large number of bonuses, subsidies, clothing and other material grants which have caused the problem of a sudden increase in consumer funds, issued an "Urgent Notice To Control Distribution of Bonuses and Subsidies Tightly," with the requirement that from now on, the distribution of bonuses and subsidies must be tightly controlled; in principle, administrations and institutions should distribute no more bonuses or subsidies before the Spring Festival, nor distribute material benefits in the form of low prices, grants or free-of-charge goods. The situation in our municipality is that most organizations paid attention to the directive from the central authorities and seriously carried it out. Yet there were some units which ignored repeated injunctions from the central authorities and continued their dishonest practices for personal or small-group gain. Among them, the more blatant ones were the rise in some bus fares, and the marketing by some organizations of their unsalable goods by raising the price in the form of "drawing lots." These incorrect methods have infringed on the consumers' interests and caused strong criticism from the masses. They have obstructed the smooth progress of economic reform. It is an issue of political discipline and should not be allowed to continue. To check firmly the budding new unhealthy tendencies, the following should be noticed:

1. Great attention has to be paid to new unhealthy tendencies under the new situation. Leading cadres of the central authorities, in their addresses, have seriously put the question of how to overcome the new unhealthy tendencies before the party; they not only attacked the new unhealthy tendencies in the new situation but also rang the alarm bell. If we still do not pay great attention to firmly checking those unhealthy tendencies, it may lead some cadres to make mistakes about money, create very bad political effects and increase the difficulties of economic reform.

Therefore, all the party rectification units should organize their party members to study conscientiously the spirit of the directives of the leading cadres from the central authorities and should enhance their awareness to correct the unhealthy tendencies. Leading cadres of all levels should firmly put into effect the related directives and stipulations from the central authorities and should never overtly agree while covertly opposing and instead doing something different. Party committees of all levels should take firm and effective measures to stop unhealthy tendencies which have appeared in the new situation in accordance with the spirit of the "Decision About the Establishment of Sound Leading Groups in Various Levels and the Responsibility System in Stressing Party Discipline."

2. Before the Spring Festival, there should be a general inspection of the unhealthy tendencies of arbitrarily raising prices and recklessly issuing money or goods. In particular, the second-phase party rectification units must integrate with the key members of the party rectification training groups, integrate theory with practice and seriously examine their own units to see whether problems exist. Whenever these problems are found, they must be firmly checked, and the personnel involved must be educated and serious offenses should be disciplined.

3. Correcting new unhealthy tendencies should be taken as an important component of party rectification while reforming. Every new unhealthy tendency found should be rectified and corrected immediately without delays. Party members who after repeated injunctions knowingly violate them should be investigated, especially those who are leading cadres; responsibility should be affixed, and it should be handled seriously.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

STANDARDS FOR FIVE STRESSES CAMPAIGN ESTABLISHED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] On the eve of the Spring Festival the provincial committee for the five stresses, four beauties and three loves movement issued its directive about the expansion of the five stresses, four points of beauty and three loves movement this year.

The directive says that since the "All-people Decorum and Courtesy Month" has been observed three times and has had the effect of mobilizing and organizing the masses, and since the work of eliminating dirtiness, disorderliness and falling short has also gradually become customary and institutionalized, this year there will be no more independent activities for All-people Decorum and Courtesy Month. Instead, it should be grasped from the beginning of the first month, and arrangements should be made for every month and session to raise these activities to a new level. First, the guiding principle is that the expansion of the 5-4-3 movement must be in the service of opening up, economic reform and the four modernizations and for the realization of the "three basic turns." Second, urban and rural planning should be grasped and done well; the principle of stressing the two civilizations at the same time should be followed; and the economic, cultural and environmental constructions should be brought into the overall plan to formulate a basic pattern of modern cities which represent Chinese characteristics. Third, the 5-4-3 movement should be further expanded; the work of eliminating dirtiness, disorderliness, falling short and decorum build-up in every unit and city should be raised to a higher level and expanded to a larger scope. The "Suggestions" affirm the acceleration of socialist material civilization construction in Guangzhou, and at the same time the slogan "Beautify Guangzhou" should be deployed; the experiences of the 5-4-3 movement should be expanded in depth. People from every place are required to refer to the experience of the 5-4-3 movement in Canton and are to combine it with practice to create new ways to raise the spirit of cultural construction a big step further. Fourth, ideological education should be continuously strengthened, patriotism should be stressed and at the same time, internationalism should be stressed to combine firmly socialism with revolutionary traditions education. Fifth, every committee of the 5-4-3 movement from the cities, districts and counties should stress activities of decorum build-up in every unit, village and city; cooperation in construction, military and

civil, worker and peasant; and "five good family" activities. Periodic inspections, appraisal through comparison and commendation should be established, and units which fall short should be supervised and should speed up the fulfillment of assigned tasks. Newspapers and radio and TV stations should be fully utilized to continue to commend those who do well and criticize those who lag behind.

12909

CSO: 4005/674

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

HUBEI LEADERS ATTEND MEMORIAL SERVICE--Comrade Wu Xianwen, an outstanding scientist, died of incurable illness in Wuchang at 0107 on 3 April at the age of 86. A memorial service for him was held in the Hongshan Hall this afternoon. Wreaths were sent by Fang Yi, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and state councillor; Chen Pixian, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the Jiusan Society. The memorial service was attended by leading comrades of the party and government in Hubei and Wuhan, including Guan Guangfu, Huang Zhizhen, Shen Yinluo, Wang Qun, Qian Yunlu, Tian Ying, Wang Ruisheng, Li Erzong, Li Fuquan, Tao Shuzeng, Jiao Dexiu, Zhang Jinxian, Shi Chuan, Chu Chuanyu, Wang Hanzhang, Wang Libin, Li Wei, He Dinghua, Tao Yang, (Shan Yijie), (Liu Hongtao), (Li Ze), and (He Huansun). [Excerpts] [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Apr 85 HK]

CSO: 4005/856

NORTH REGION

USE OF HIGH STANDARD IN BUILDING THIRD ECHELON URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job in Constructing the Third Echelon of Various Levels at a High Standard"]

[Text] The provincial youth cadre conference suggested developing a new aspect of the third-echelon building work in 1985. The heart of the matter is to advance, based on the current foundation, a step in opening up the construction of the third echelon at a high standard.

What are the symbols of constructing the third echelon at a high standard? First, each of the cadres listed in the third echelon must meet the moral and competence requirements; be truly reliable in politics, dynamic in ideology and bold and resolute in work; have organizational and leadership ability; be the splendid talent able to open up new aspects and able to carry out creatively the line, guiding principle and policy of the party; and be the exploitative type able to achieve outstanding accomplishments in an area, component or unit. Second, there should be a sufficient number of them to form a collective structure and complete set. In age they should be of the multi-level ladder structure, approximately 35-40 years old for local- and municipal-level reserve cadres and 30-35 years old for county-level reserve cadres. For those able to be listed in the group, their age limitations may be appropriately relaxed. From the viewpoint of vocation, the group should be composed of the various talents needed by the four modernizations construction. Women and nationality cadres should occupy an appropriate proportion. Third, they should be the subjects of medium-range and long-range cultivation and should also be candidates who may be listed in the group after a short while. If a vacancy appears in the leadership group, especially the key leadership group, we should be able to find a mature and suitable replacement in the third echelon. The above are our three goals in constructing the third echelon.

For a high-standard construction of the third echelon, we should firmly establish the employment viewpoint in the new epoch. At present, there is a phenomenon that is worth our attention, i.e., in some areas or units, some good or very good cadres are often censured by gossips, and therefore when their time of selection comes, they are put aside due to prolonged indecision in their cases. Therefore, the party committee and organization

and personnel components must act jointly to insist on the principle of expelling "the leftist" ideology and ending harassment by the force of old customs. As long as these cadres are of good political quality, have real ability and learning, are abundant in the spirit of reform and creation and are able to open up new aspects, they should be boldly selected for the third echelon.

The high-standard construction of the third echelon is keyed to correct selection and to selecting well. To accomplish this aim, the first thing is to insist on the party's moral and ability standard during the new epoch, stressing the real accomplishments and the organizational and leadership abilities of the person to be selected. Generally, the cadres having achieved outstanding accomplishments in economic construction and reform are comparatively good in morals and ability. Through a comparison of their real accomplishments in work we will be able to see clearly who the better ones are. The second thing is to widen the field of vision by relying on the masses in selecting the virtuous and the able instead of restricting ourselves to one standard in recruiting talent. In the future, the means of selecting cadres should be changed from the "closed style" to the "open style" by fully relying on or mobilizing the masses in recommending talent to the end that "no talent is left unnoticed." Besides, we should correctly handle the relationship between a diploma and the academic level. We cannot rely "solely on academic background." While we pay attention to academic background, we should pay even more attention to finding out if a cadre has real knowledge and ability and also if he has had outstanding accomplishments.

The insistence on directed cultivation and the prevention of dislocation between preparation and use is another key question in the construction of the third echelon at a high standard. All areas and all units must closely grasp the cultivation of reserve cadres and prevent the situation of paying attention to selection but not to control, or making selections but not exercising control. The cultivation should be implemented on the basis of the specialty of each individual reserve cadre, of his tentative assigned work and also of the principle of "making up whatever is deficient." Measures are made to suit the individual, to the end that the period needed for nurturing the talent may be shortened and the percentage of success in cultivating talent may be improved.

At present, the condition for doing a good job in constructing the third echelon is better than at any time in the past. Only if we conscientiously carry out the related guiding spirit of the party Central Committee, take a step forward in liberating our ideology, seek the truth from facts, invigorate our spirit and cooperate in one heart, will we surely be able to do a good job at a high standard of constructing the third echelon and develop a new aspect in the youth cadre work in our province in 1985.

12739

CSO: 4005/803

NORTH REGION

WORK CONFERENCE ON PARTY HISTORY OF HEBEI PROVINCE

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by Li Jin [2621 6930] and Tang Xiaowei [3282 1420 5633]: "Sum up Historical Experience in Guiding Current Work"]

[Text] Doing a good job in party history work by summing up historical experiences will enable us to guide our current work, serve the four modernizations construction, serve the two civilizations construction, serve the general task and the general goal defined by our party and serve the realization of communist ideals. It is hoped that after this conference the party history work of our province will go to the forefront in our country. This was pointed out by the secretary of the provincial party committee Jie Feng [6043 1496] at the provincial party history work conference, which was adjourned today.

Since a year ago the party history work in our province has achieved outstanding accomplishments in insisting on serving the realities. In the activities of the "five attentions, four beautifuls and three ardent loves" the party history components of various levels in the entire province have universally used the forms of report meetings, party history exhibitions, broadcast forums and the publication of indigenous party history materials to make use of indigenous party history materials for giving the masses, especially the youngsters, the party's education in the revolutionary tradition, with the result that the ideological consciousness of all has been raised and some practical problems have been solved. Last year, based on historical materials, the party history components in the entire province solved 214 unjust, false and wrong cases in history and more than 630 cases of party and work seniority of cadres and workers. In implementing the policy, solving the problems bequeathed by history, mobilizing the positive outlook of the cadre masses and enhancing stability and unity, party history components play a good role and have thus attracted the attention of various party committees and favorable comments from the society.

This conference lasted 5 days and was attended by 115 persons including the leadership comrades in charge of party history work in all the local and minicipal committees and some county committees, the responsible comrades of the compilation squads of revolutionary-base history and units on writing

party history directly under provincial control, together with some old comrades who have been ardent in party history work. Feng Wenbin [7456 2429 1755], member of CPC Central Advisory Committee and the chief of the CPC Central Party History Materials Collection Committee; Ma Shijiang [7454 4258 3068], deputy chief of the CPC Central Party History Materials Collection Committee; Hu Kaiming [5170 7030 2494], deputy chief of the preparatory squad of the Hebei provincial CPC advisory committee and concurrently the chief of the Hebei provincial CPC committee party history materials collection and compilation committee; and Hu Baohuan [2083 5508 3893] and Zhang Qiyao [1728 3825 1484], deputy chiefs of the Hebei provincial CPC committee party history materials collection and compilation committee, attended and spoke at the conference.

12739

CSO: 4005/803

24 May 1985

NORTHEAST REGION

GUO FENG VISITS SHENYANG PARTY LEADING GROUP

OW011009 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1250 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Report by Wang Ke]

[Excerpts] Shenyang, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--Guo Feng, first secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, and several members of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee recently visited the new leading group of the Shenyang city party committee. He urged members of the group to bring forth new ideas, work hard, resist pressures and rebuffs, stress high work efficiency, and be honest in performing their duties.

Guo Feng told them: Self-knowledge is wisdom. You should understand your own limitations and be good at studying what you do not understand. Most of you specialize in industry and are not familiar with finance, economics, culture, and education. A person who has been doing economic work most of the time cannot be expected to be experienced in party matters. Those who come from the grassroots level do not quite understand macroeconomics and the overall situation. Since most of you grew up in urban centers, I cannot expect you to understand much about agriculture and peasants. For every member of the new leading group, the change in work assignment is a turning point; they face the problem of how to adapt themselves to new requirements and how to restudy what they have studied before. The members of the new leading group should understand the whole situation, master their respective professional skills, and be good at studying in the course of performing their duties. It is very necessary for them to study political theory and party matters. This is a key point. They are required to enhance party spirit and inherit the party's fine traditions.

Guo Feng continued: You should also be good at forging close ties with the masses. The mass line is not out of date. In modernizing management, we still need the mass line even after modernization has been achieved. In essence, the mass line is required in building a socialist society of Chinese characteristics. This is one of China's special traits. Therefore, members of the new leading group should immerse themselves among the masses, be concerned with their hardships and difficulties, and pay attention to their feelings.

He said: Members of the new leading group should step up their self-cultivation efforts. Self-cultivation alone is, however, not enough because complicated situations and environments may make it impossible for one to overcome one's own limitations and shortcomings. The most important thing is to put oneself under the supervision of the party organization and of the masses of the people, by living among the masses and within the party. One should listen to and accept the criticism of people both in and outside the party and correct one's mistakes, if any.

CSO: 4005/862

NORTHEAST REGION

HEILONGJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS

SK270254 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The 13th standing committee meeting of the 6th provincial people's congress concluded today. Wang Jun, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over this morning's session.

The meeting heard a report by Zhang Ruoxian, secretary general of the provincial government, on implementation of the motions submitted by deputies at the second session of the sixth provincial people's congress. Zhang Ruoxian gave specific details on the handling of the deputies' seven motions: Developing and improving the Sanjiang plain; stepping up development of mountainous areas, supporting their economic development, and improving their people's living standards; strengthening the work of preventing and treating environmental pollution; developing kindergartens and nurseries; developing artistic education; maintaining the fact that Huachuan County is a base of the war of resistance against Japan and preparing for building the Huachuan cemetery of revolutionary martyrs; and solving the problems of the two-shift attendance system, dangerous school buildings, and a lack of desks and chairs of some primary and middle schools.

On developing and improving the Sanjiang plain, Zhang Ruoxian said: The provincial government has established an organ in charge of developing and improving the Sanjiang plain, conducted investigations and study, formulated plans for the development and improvement, and carried out such fundamental work for flood and waterlogging control as reclaiming wasteland, building and repairing water conservancy works, and building dikes and dams. In the future, while using the state's annual allocation of 15 million yuan of funds, we should comprehensively readjust the orientation of the development and utilization of the Sanjiang plain, further relax policies, improve the economic contract responsibility system, open to the outside world, draw in a great amount of foreign capital and technology, and arouse the initiative of local governments in raising funds from various sources so that the Sanjiang plain improvement can be accelerated in a short period of time.

Lu Guang, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over this afternoon's session. At the session, the decision of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee on changing the date of convening the Third Session of the Sixth Heilongjiang

Provincial People's Congress and appointments and removals of cadres were discussed and adopted.

Attending the meeting were Chen Yuanzhi, Wei Zhimin, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Jinling, Wang Pili, and Wang Zhaozhi, vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress standing committee. He Shoulun, vice governor of the province, Zhang Li, president of the provincial higher people's court, and Yu Jian, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, attended as nonvoting delegates.

The decision to change the date for convening the 3d Session of the 6th Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress adopted at today's 13th standing committee meeting of the provincial people's congress reads as follows:

The 12th Standing Committee meeting of the 6th Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress decided to hold the 3d Session of the 6th Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress in Harbin in late-April 1985. Because the preparations for the session have not been completed, it is hereby decided that the session will be held in Harbin in mid-May.

CSO: 4005/862

NORTHEAST REGION

CHAIRMAN OF JILIN PROVINCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE ELECTED

SK240655 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] The fifth enlarged members' meeting of the seventh provincial committee of the China Democratic League ended today. Members participating in the meeting unanimously elected Comrade Guan Mengjue chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic League and Comrade Liu Jiaju Standing Committee member and concurrently secretary general of the provincial committee of the China Democratic League.

The meeting relayed the guidelines of the Third Session of the Sixth NPC and the Third Session of the Sixth National CPPCC Committee, and adopted some items on personnel by-election. (Zhao Luyi), vice chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic League, presided over the meeting. Zhang Fengqi, director of the United Front Department of the provincial CPC Committee, and Guan Mengjue, chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic League, spoke at the meeting.

Members participating in the meeting unanimously maintained: Reform is the central task in the current work throughout the country. Democratic parties should conduct activities in line with this central task, fully exploit the favorable condition of the democratic organizations in which many talented people assemble together, unite forces in various fields to offer advice to and work hard for the four modernizations, and firmly and unswervingly help the party and government achieve success in reform.

CSO: 4005/862

24 May 1985

NORTHEAST REGION

LETTER AND VISIT WORK SHOULD SERVE PARTY

Implementation of Work

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "The Party's Implementation of the Letter and Visit Work Substantively Solves Problems")]

[Text] From 2-16 February, the provincial party committee and the provincial government summoned in Shenyang the All-province Letter and Visit Work Conference. This conference summed up the work of writing letters and making visits in 1984 and suggested the such work for 1985, paying special attention to discussing and studying questions which were policy in nature, to the end that the letters and visits work can keep pace with the new situation, open up new aspects and serve in a better way the party's major work.

Comrade Zuo Kun [1563 3824], the deputy governor, pointed out in summing up the conference that the current situation of our province in letters and visits work is promising and that this work in the whole province in 1984 had achieved big accomplishments in having made advancements or breakthroughs in serving party rectification and reform in the economic system, in changing the work-style and in strengthening vocational construction. However, we still need to see soberly that the task of our province's letters and visits work is still very heavy. Following the steady development of party rectification and the deepening implementation of the economic system reform which pays primary attention to the cities, the number of letters and visits to report, expose, criticize and suggest is bound to increase, while the opinions and requests by the vast masses and the new situation and new problems that emerge during the reform are bound to be continuously reflected via the channels of letters and visits. This is the new situation confronting our letter's and visits work. How to serve party rectification and reform better has become a new problem in front of us.

He emphasized that the party and government leadership comrades of all levels, in guiding ideology, must closely link letters and visits work with the implementation of the party's general task, with the big goal of triplification and with party rectification and reform; they must grasp it as an important matter and conscientiously do a good job in letters and visits work. It is wrong to take this work as something that may or may not be grasped, and it

also wrong to regard its success or failure as irrelevant to the overall situation. On letters and visits work, all levels and components must conscientiously implement the policy of factually solving the questions from letters and visits. We must strengthen the investigation work and persistently conquer the bureaucratic workstyle that is irresponsible to the party and the people in referring the case to another level and in shirking responsibility. Letters and visit work is not a matter that belongs exclusively to the unit in charge of the work and should be taken care of by all units in order to create the new situation of having the whole party work on letters and visits and of developing a new aspect in this work.

Provincial party committee secretary Dai Suli [2071 5685 3810] spoke at the conference. Deputy secretary general of the provincial party committee Wang Xiantang [3769 7359 1016] delivered the "report on the Basic Situation of Letters and Visits Work in the Entire Province in 1984, and Suggestions for the Work in 1985." The responsible person of the letters and visits department of the executive office of the Shenyang municipal government introduced the experience of civilized reception. Model laborer of the province Gu Min [7353 2404], who was concurrently the deputy chief of the letters and visits office of Huang Gu Prefecture of Shenyang Municipality, reported his understanding of letters and visits work.

More than 170 leadership comrades in charge of letters and visits work in all municipalities, some counties and the units directly under the provincial government attended this conference. The Letters and Visits Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Executive Office and the Letters and Visits Bureau of State Council Executive Office specially sent five comrades to attend the conference.

Editorial on Letters, Visits Work

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Feb 85 p 1

[Commentary: "Do a Good Job in Letters and Visits Work with the Spirit of Party Rectification and Reform"]

[Text] The letters and visits work in our province achieved a big accomplishment last year due to the attention paid by the leadership of various levels in personally grasping this work, especially due to the efforts devoted by the vast number of comrades engaged in this work, which has solved many problems. However, many questions still exist. The current problems in the letters and visits work are that many are second letters and second visits and many are problems bequeathed by "the cultural revolution" and history. This is a big problem requiring great attention. The study and solution of this problem will have a very important bearing on future letters and visits work.

The various levels of leadership units and components in charge of letters and visits should grasp to solve the remaining problems with the spirit of party rectification and reform in order to do a good job in letters and visits work this year. First of all, we should elevate the recognition of the important meaning of letters and visits work. Letter and visit work is a very important

component part of the work of the party and of the government; its substantive purpose is to solve a large number of the people's internal contradictions through letters and visits work, to convert passive factors into positive factors and to engage in "the four modernizations with a united heart and mind." This is to say that only by linking in an organic way about the letters and visits work with the party's general task, general goal and central work can we truly recognize the important meaning of letters and visits work and bring into play the supervisory and information feedback functions of letters and visits work.

Next, we should conscientiously solve the policy questions. We must try to implement those that have already been defined by policy, for leaving them pending for years is not in conformity with the CPC Central Committee. We must in a timely way study and make provisions to solve in batches the cases relating to general policy. In handling letters and visits questions we should act in accordance with policy on the one hand, and be flexible on the other; we should not need red-titled documents whenever we encounter a problem, which should be handled even in the absence of a red-titled document. There should be initiative and a positive outlook handling letters and visits problems, and we should be skillful in handling these problems in a flexible and accommodating manner.

Third, our grasp should be substantial. On the problems raised by the masses, we should solve those that should be solved and act on those that should be acted on. We oppose the bureaucratic style of shirking responsibility and of referring cases to another level. We must accomplish the goal that the village and township levels "only act and not refer," the county levels "act more and refer less" and the provincial and municipal levels "act on key cases."

Fourth, the letters and visits work cannot be weakened. The quality of the cadres in the letter and visit work must be heightened, to the end that the letters and visits work will advance step by step toward standization in procedures, systematization in responsibilities and a scientific approach to management. The letters and visits work is a rather difficult one, and the leadership of various levels should be concerned about the letters and visits cadres in politics, in work and in their daily lives.

12739

CS0: 4005/715

NORTHEAST REGION

EXTENT OF PARTY SECRETARY'S AUTHORITY QUESTIONED

Letter to Editor

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Feb 85 p 2

[Letter to the editor by manager Wang Shaojiang [3769 1421 1730] of the First Construction Engineering Company of Ben Qi Municipality: "Is It Right for the Party Secretary To Exceed His Authority To Meddle in Affairs of Others?"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Editor:

I was selected to be the manager of the First Construction Engineering Company of Ben Qi Municipality at the beginning of last year. On 7 January of this year, I solemnly declared null and void at the cadres meeting of the company the promotion list submitted by our company at the end of last year. The reason was that the list was decided upon and reported by only the CPC committee secretary and a small number of people. After the meeting, everybody talked about the matter, while the CPC committee secretary accused me of wrecking unity by publicly challenging the CPC committee, but I insisted that I did not err.

The matter was very simple. Our company is a unit that successfully passed the pre-acceptance examination in enterprise consolidation. Our economic benefits were increased considerably last year. As such, we enjoy the privilege of a 3 percent promotion, in accordance with the stipulation of the state. With this fact I was happy and prudent. I had wanted to accomplish the final engineering work of the year before devoting my full energy to investigating and finding out the true situation in order to formulate a promotion plan to be submitted for discussion and decision by the CPC committee and then by the employees representative meeting before its implementation.

According to the stipulation of the 10 articles promulgated by the State Council, the promotion of employees in an enterprise is within the scope of the manager's authority. Unexpectedly, the CPC committee of our company directly grasped this matter. In December of last year, CPC committee secretary Zhu Zhangzhi [2651 7022 1807], without prior consultation with me, twice summoned CPC committee meetings to study the promotion issue and during the second meeting, even produced a promotion list and asked

that I declare my stand. I was not ideologically prepared and did not know well some of the people on the list; I therefore asked for a delay until I had conducted the investigation. At that time the CPC committee did not make a decision. Later, when they saw that I did not act to comply with the wish of the CPC committee, they simply excluded me by having the list approved by the CPC committee secretary and then submitted it to the senior level. Furthermore, they took my seal from the manager's office without my knowledge and affixed it on the promotion list. In this way, they imposed on me a report which I basically disagreed with. How can I acquiesce?

I do not have a personal prejudice against the secretary, and I do not disapprove of all the names on the promotion list. The point is that the person who should be the party responsible for this kind of thing should be clarified on this day of reform. This report was not decided upon by the CPC committee, nor was it discussed by the employees representative meeting, nor was it approved by the manager. How was it different from the "unified leadership" formula? If the secretary who exceeds his authority to meddle in the affairs of others is considered normal, and the manager who persistently argues on just grounds is considered incorrect, the implementation of the separation of power between the party and the government and the manager responsibility system is nullified if this kind of mentality is not changed.

Responsibility of Committees

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by Liu Ning [0491 1380], chief of the Economic Work Department of the Ben Qi Municipality Party Committee: "The Party Committee of Enterprises Must Grasp Party Work"]

[Text] Comrade Wang Shanjiang's letter to the editor of LIAONING RIBAO brought forth an important question in the current reform. I believe that to handle correctly the issue of the authority to give promotions, we should first of all clarify the status and the scope of responsibilities of the plant chief (manager) and the party committee secretary in the enterprise. Article 2 of the general principle of "the Provisional Regulation on the Work of the Chiefs of State-operated Plants" promulgated by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council pointed out: "The plant chief is the administrative responsible person of the plant who is entrusted by the state to be responsible for the operational management of the plant. The plant chief has full authority in deciding all questions relating to operational management." Article 17 is even more definite in stating that "the plant chief has the authority to commend and to penalize his employees. He has the authority to promote the employee who has made a special contribution." In accordance with this spirit, the party committee and the secretary of the First Construction Engineering Company of Ben Qi Municipality undertook administrative work in the absence of a decision by the plant chief on the promotion work by twice summoning party committee meetings to discuss only the view of the party committee. This constituted an undertaking in every

area. Besides, although the party committee had entrusted this work to an assistant manager, the absence of the manager from beginning to end in taking charge of this matter can only be said to be excessive intervention and cannot bring into play the role of administrative leadership. The secretary's submission of the promotion list to the superior level without discussion by the party committee was likewise not right. Even it had been discussed and approved by the party committee, it should have been signed by the plant chief before it became valid. Furthermore, the promotion of employees, especially that of plant-level leadership cadres, should be decided upon by the employees representative meeting after discussion. It is unbecoming to promote a few people by the concurrence of a few leadership cadres because it contradicts the principle of democratic management.

The responsibilities of the party committee and the secretary of an enterprise were clearly defined in the above article. The party committee secretary is the responsible person for the party committee of the enterprise and for ideological principles and policies of the party and to implement leadership in ideological-political work. In June of last year, the Ben Qi municipal CPC committee, on implementing the above article, emphasized that in carrying out the plant chief responsibility system under the leadership of party committee, there should be a division of labor between the party and the government and that the party committee, especially the secretary, should support the plant chief (manager) in the latter's employment of his authority and should also be "the enlightened secretary" for effecting the smooth implementation of the plant chief responsibility system. It seems that for the sake of adapting to the new situation of reforming the leadership system, the party committee and the party committee secretary should change their way of thinking and of leadership and their work practices, from directly grasping economic work to guaranteeing supervision, from primarily grasping production to grasping the party's construction and ideological political work and from deciding by the party committee to deciding by the plant chief (manager) with the support of the party committee. In short, the party committee and the secretary of the party committee in an enterprise should grasp the work of the party instead of "tilling the land of others and neglecting their own."

12739

CSO: 4005/715

NORTHEAST REGION

DECEPTIVE UNHEALTHY TENDENCY TO BE STOPPED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Feb 85 p 1

[Editorial: "The Ill Wind of Deception and Fraud Must Be Checked"]

[Text] Deception and fraud are a very abominable ill wind that wrecks the current reform. Its harm has reached the point where it needs to be checked.

At present, the practice of deception and fraud has reached alarming proportions in some areas. According to the investigation by a certain municipality of its 157 enterprise households, 90 of them did not report a true final accounting at the end of last year. Among them, 11 households practiced deception and fraud by falsely reporting a loss as a profit. The investigation showed that of the 66.62 million yuan in profits originally reported in the final accounting, reports of 3.64 million yuan were false.

Some leaders of individual enterprises, for the sake of attaining the contracted target quota or of making the current group "rei" for the year did not hesitate to employ the tricky measure of concocting various pretexts in not reporting what should have been reported, in not disbursing what should have been disbursed, in reporting less than what was actually disbursed, in making inventions in reporting, in fabricating final accounts or in messing up the accounts, all for the sake of presenting a picture of profitmaking. In their eyes, reform means money making and doing a good job means making money for everyone in their small group in order to make everybody happy. These people who practice deception and fraud for the interests of individuals or their small groups have ignored the interests of the country and of the overall situation, in a situation where "all think in the same way in order to take advantage of the state and all mobilize to seek material or monetary gain".

The acts of fraud and deception contradict the party line of seeking the truth from facts. At present, when party rectification is being carried out throughout the whole country, one of its basic aims is to go a step further in restoring and making the most of the ideological style of seeking the truth from facts. From the situation discovered, those responsible for practicing fraud and deception are for the most part party members, especially party members cadres. This is a question not only relating to the workstyle but also to the purity of party spirit.

The deeds of fraud and deception have confused the relationship among "the state, the enterprise and the individual." They care for the present, and not for the future, and theirs is a nearsighted way of killing the chicken for the egg. Our enterprise is a socialist enterprise. We should consider the present, but we should also consider the future. If for the sake of increasing profits, we illegally use large sums of production funds and reduce the turnback charges and overhaul expenses, and if for the sake of mobilizing the positive outlook of the masses, we issue more bonuses and material remuneration by all means and do not hesitate to use up all resources, the result will be a total exhaustion of the enterprise's economic strength, making it impossible for the enterprise to expand reproduction, or even to maintain simple reproduction. The enterprise thus exists only in name and has to close down finally. The eventual result is that the state, the enterprise and the individual all are harmed.

If the ill wind of fraud and deception is allowed to develop, not only do the enterprises making profit have to issue more bonus than authorized, but the enterprises losing money also have to issue bonuses by borrowing money. In this way, a large amount of production funds will change into a consumption fund, to bring about the loss of the state's consumption fund and to aggravate the separation between commodity and currency, resulting in pounding the market and harassing the people.

The ill wind of practicing fraud and deception has reached a point where it must be checked. The people practicing fraud and deception subjectively think that since the practice results in benefits for all, it is able to win people over and is able to seal the mouth of the masses, and the truth can hardly be discovered even if an investigation is conducted. The fact is no so. "A person cannot be permanently buried in snow," and so deception cannot stand long. The case of the Yin Zhou Prefecture Paper Mill of Jiaoling Municipality is a good example. No matter how skillful were their maneuvers, the masses were able to reflect via various channels the situation to its superior level in exposing its fraudulent and deceptive practice. We can see from here that all the evil and crooked ways do not receive popular support. Only if our heads are clear, our actions are effective and our decisions are resolute, can the new ill wind surely be thoroughly corrected.

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CSO: 4005/715

NORTHEAST REGION

BRIEFS

JILIN ADULT EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENTS--Jilin Province has made marked progress in conducting adult education. According to statistics, the province has opened, as of now, 124 adult institutes and schools which are divided into nine categories, such as workers' universities, peasants' universities, and colleges of cadres in charge of managerial work. These institutes and schools accommodate more than 64,000 students. Since 1981, these schools have produced more than 33,000 graduates. [Summary] [Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 85 page not given SK]

LIAONING INTELLECTUAL PARTY MEMBERS--According to statistics released by the relevant department, Liaoning Province recruited 24,498 outstanding intellectuals into the party in 1984, a 1.5-fold increase over 1983. Among them, 8,039 were high and medium-ranking intellectuals, and 15,693 have college education. [Summary] [Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 85 p 1 SK]

TREE PLANTING IN HEILONGJIANG--Today is the first day of the Harbin all-people voluntary tree-planting campaign. Among those who planted trees were leading comrades of the provincial and Harbin city party, government, and party organs, including the provincial CPC committee, the provincial advisory commission, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC committee, and the provincial military district, including Li Lian, Chen Lei, Hou Jie, (Chen Yunmin), Liu Chenggui, Li Gensheng, and Gong Benyan. [Excerpts] [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 15 Apr 85 SK]

LIAONING CADRE TRAINING--Over the past few years, more than 300,000 cadres in Liaoning Province have attended study classes on special courses offered by various universities, colleges, and secondary vocational schools. Thus far, some 11,400 cadres have received diplomas issued by various party schools, cadres' colleges, and higher learning institutes for completing special or university courses by attending correspondence schools, night schools, workers' schools, and TV colleges. In addition, some 133,000 cadres have received single-course diplomas by passing the examination for higher education self-study students, some 8,000 cadres received single-course diplomas by passing the examination for secondary education self-study students, some 52,000 cadres received single-course diplomas issued by agricultural radio schools, and more than 40,000 cadres are attending training classes offered by various universities and colleges. [Summary] [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 16 Apr 85 SK]

HEILONGJIANG RENAMES INSTITUTE--The Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee recently decided to change Heilongjiang CYL School to the Heilongjiang Young Cadre Institute. This institute will set up two departments offering college training courses and short-term rotational training courses. The term of the college training courses will be 2 years. [Summary] [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 20 Apr 85 SK]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN HEILONGJIANG--Chen Lei, governor of Heilongjiang Province, hosted a banquet at the Huayuancun Guest House in honor of the (Cunzi) group of Japan on 23 April. Both parties toasted better economic and technological cooperation. Governor Chen Lei and Vice Governor Hou Jie held cordial talks with all members of the group before the banquet. [Summary] [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 23 Apr 85 SK]

JILIN YANBIAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--The third session of the Eighth Jilin Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress concluded on 24 April. The session adopted the prefecture's regulations on the exercise of autonomy, elected (Huang Zailin) as chief of the prefecture, and held a by-election for vice chairmen of the prefectural people's congress standing committee and deputy chiefs of the prefectural people's government. [Text] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 Apr 85 SK]

JILIN PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM--Jilin Province has made fairly rapid progress in introducing the personal responsibility system at offices. The 513 units under the province's 7 cities, prefectures, and autonomous prefectures; the 2,690 units under the province's 56 counties and districts; and the 972 township and town offices and the units under the provincial organs participating in the first-stage party rectification have enforced the personal responsibility system. Enforcement of the system has helped clarify personal responsibilities and raised work efficiency. [Summary] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 26 Apr 85 SK]

CSO: 4005/862

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PLA CHIEF'S DISMISSAL RUMORED--Hong Kong, April 4, KYODO--Rumors are circulating widely in Beijing that Yang Dezhi, chief of the General Staff of China's People's Liberation Army, is to be replaced, a Hong Kong daily reported Thursday. The FAI PAO (THE EXPRESS) reported that senior leader Deng Xiaoping had complained that Yang was responsible for factional strife and lack of discipline within the army because of his lack of leadership. Among those rumored as possible successors are Qin Jiwei, commander of Beijing army units; Zhang Tingfa, air force commander; and Xu Xin, deputy chief of the General Staff, the paper said. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0856 GMT 4 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4000/202

TAIWAN

FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL REVIEWS ROC-U.S. TIES

OW250446 Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] According to a dispatch from Kaohsiung, Chang Hsiao-yen, director of the Department of North American Affairs under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said: Although diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the United States have been severed for many years, the relations have not been interrupted. As long as we play a significant role, we will not be overlooked.

He stressed that neither the work nor the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been curtailed because of the severance of ROC [Republic of China]-U.S. diplomatic ties, and the ministry has never flinched in the face of a perilous international situation.

Director Chang Hsiao-yen reviewed the situation of ROC-U.S. relations over the past 6 years while addressing a monthly meeting of the staff of the Kaohsiung municipal government.

On ROC-U.S. economic relations and trade, he said: ROC-U.S. trade has never been affected by the severance of diplomatic ties. Today the Republic of China is the fifth largest trading partner of the United States, and ranks third among those enjoying a trade surplus with the United States, next only to Japan and Canada.

He pointed out: Since the severance of ROC-U.S. diplomatic relations, the United States' arms sales to the Republic of China still reaches an average of \$800 million a year, whereas the average annual arms sales to the Republic of China before the severance of diplomatic relations ranged from \$300 million to \$800 million.

Director Chang also expressed satisfaction over the friendship that has been established between nongovernmental organizations in the Republic of China and the United States over the years. He said: The Chinese Communists have so far established sisterhood with only 13 U.S. cities, whereas we have established sisterhood with as many as 73 U.S. cities. Moreover, he said, an increasing number of American banks are investing in the Republic of China.

Chang urged the countrymen to work hard in harmony to consolidate the internal situation and promote the development of foreign relations.

CSO: 4005/858

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

AMERICANS' IMPRESSION OF LIU CASE--Hang Li-wu, president of the Chinese Association for Human Rights, indicated that most concerned people in the U.S. Congress and the State Department took a positive attitude to the judgments announced in the Liu I-liang case. President Hang Li-wu, who is now visiting the United States, made this known when making a long-distance call to the Chinese Association for Human Rights. In his contact with people in the U.S. Congress and the State Department, he said, most indicated that they had a good impression of our country's cooperative attitude in handling the Liu I-liang case, and of the trial of the case. Some people still wanted further investigation into the motives in the Liu I-liang case, but most people indicated that the case should now be considered closed. [Text] [Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4005/858

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN DENG XIAOPING, KHRUSHCHEV NOTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 89, Mar 85 pp 60-61

[Article by Feng Chih-ming [7458 0037 2494]: "Deng Xiaoping Is China's Khrushchev"]

[Text] Similarities Between Deng Xiaoping, Khrushchev

When interviewing Deng Xiaoping at the Beijing Airport in 1980, O. Falacci, the well-known Italian woman news reporter, asked: "In the West you are called China's Khrushchev. How do you feel about this?"

Deng Xiaoping answered: "I knew Khrushchev very well. I had contacts with him for 10 years. To compare me to Khrushchev is stupid."

On all occasions Deng has stated that he is not China's Khrushchev and has not acted as China's Khrushchev, and also he has always adopted a tough policy toward the Soviet Union. He has been in power for 8 years already, and Sino-Soviet relations still remain at the stage of "indication of relaxation."

Chinese often say: "Judge people by their deeds, not just by their words." In judging a person one, of course, should make his actions the criterion. Is Deng Xiaoping China's Khrushchev? Eight years of practice provide the basis for verification, and together with a little comparison, it is not hard to reach a conclusion.

In history there are often astonishing similarities. After Stalin died many things took place in the Soviet Union that coincided with many things that took place in China after Mao Zedong died.

There also are similarities between Khrushchev's rise to power and Deng Xiaoping's rise to power. They both pushed out the dictator's picked successor, and then got their own ruling position. The ones who were driven out of power were Malenkov in the Soviet Union and Hua Guofeng in China. Only the times taken by Khrushchev and Deng to do this were different.

Kicking Over the Stumbling Block and Criticizing the "Supersovereign"

The first thing Khrushchev did when he came to power was to remove the stumbling block by getting rid of Stalin's remaining accomplice, Beria. Beria was the minister of internal affairs, and he exercised control over the secret police and the public security departments. His position was high and his power great. His hands were stained with the blood of honest party members and people, and he "was a ferocious wild beast." Khrushchev allied himself with the Politburo members, and with the expenditure of a great deal of effort Beria was toppled from power, arrested, tried, and executed.

Deng Xiaoping had even more objects for removal. Besides China's Beria, Kang Sheng, there were the big and small members of the gang of four and their factionalist setups, and likewise they were arrested, investigated, tried, and sentenced. The crimes of Kang Sheng were probably greater than those of Beria, and the dissimilarity between them was that one of them died a natural death while the other was executed by shooting, but the meaning of squaring accounts with them was the same.

When getting rid of evil persons, there is inevitably a rehabilitation of innocent persons. In his secret report to the 20th CPSU Congress, Khrushchev restored the reputations of 7,380 persons; and he let a large number of citizens who were confined in concentration camps or places of banishment return to their homes and gain their freedom. In China the work of rehabilitation was even more astonishing. From State President Liu Shaoqi and Marshal Peng Dehuai to 800,000 rightists, the total number was no less than a million persons, among them various types of opposition elements, counterrevolutionaries, and other persons who were persecuted under political labels during the Mao Zedong era; the Hu Feng elements and the Gao Rao elements before the antirightist campaign were also rehabilitated; and landlords and rich peasants of the exploiting classes who had been the objects of surveillance and dictatorship for 30 years had their labels removed and were given the rights of citizens.

China's redress and righting of several hundreds of thousands of unjust, false, and mistaken cases was the affair that most bore a Khrushchev hue, and its essence was like Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, being a de-Maoization.

In talking about the criticism of Mao Zedong and the opposition to the worship of the individual we cannot say that Deng Xiaoping is not a little like Khrushchev. To be sure Deng does not have as clear-cut stand as Khrushchev's opposition to Stalin when Deng justly and forcefully criticizes and opposes Mao. He vigorously protects Mao and forbids opposition to Mao, but, when all is said and done, in his policies and actions he negates many of Mao's things, and in his system he has many outmoded conventions of the worship of the individual; one reason that Deng on the surface respects Mao is probably that he worries about the power of the conservative forces and does not dare to take a chance.

The Internal and External Policies Coincide

In dealing with the problem of intellectuals there is no difference in principle between Deng Xiaoping and Khrushchev. Although Stalin attached more importance to intellect and culture than Mao did, and did not, like Mao, close universities, drive the "stinking ninth category" [intellectuals] into the rural areas for reform through labor, and destroy traditional culture, he still appointed (Ridanov) and others to practice a stern policy of interference and attack many intellectuals, including the famous aircraft designer Tupolev and the film director (Dupurenke). Khrushchev restored their reputation and appointed them to high posts, and he relaxed the party's restrictions on literary and art creations. Deng Xiaoping showed understanding and sympathy for the intellectuals' extreme detestation of Mao Zedong's cultural policy, and personally redressed the unjust cases of scientists and artists, bolstered and encouraged them, raised the "stinking ninth category" to a social position it had never had, and completely changed the Mao era attitude of mistrusting intellectuals. Although the situation of intellectuals in China is different from that in the Soviet Union, the official policies tend to be identical.

With regard to the reform of the system, Deng Xiaoping and Khrushchev are highly similar, first of all in making big personnel changes. Khrushchev dismissed many conservative and rigid bureaucrats of the Stalin era and replaced them with the cadres who supported the 20th CPSU Congress line. Therefore, after Khrushchev fell from power, the party's general line did not change. Deng is just like this. In his party consolidation, readjustment, and reshuffling, the chief qualification for leading groups at all levels is the support of the line of the Third Plenary Session and the maintaining of political unity with the party Central Committee, and the cadres of the whatever faction and the conservative faction have been removed. Moreover, like Khrushchev, Deng has emphasized making the cadres younger in average age and better educated, and he has instituted an age system and educational level standards. Because China's foundation is poor, what Deng has done is more radical than what Khrushchev did.

In the reform of the economic system, Deng may be said to be more Khrushchev than Khrushchev. In the years when Deng was taking part in the antirevisionist struggle, he scolded Khrushchev for putting profit in command, giving material incentives, and restoring capitalism. Now, China has gone far beyond the stage of affirming the laws of profit and value, and already openly acknowledges the role of market mechanism in the socialist economy, but the Soviet Union up to now still criticizes "market socialism" and upholds the economic pattern of central planning. The Soviet Union opposes the introduction of foreign capital; China not only takes in foreign capital, but also opens special economic zones, issues foreign currency certificates, and advocates "one country with two systems."

In foreign affairs, Khrushchev was attacked for his "three peace-fuls and three not-haves" and for his collusion with U.S.-imperialism to dominate the world. Khrushchev had to come to terms with America and take the path of peaceful coexistence, but ideologically Khrushchev was still a tough opponent of the West. Now, Deng has changed the policy of Mao and Zhou to try to establish a

relationship with America to counterbalance the Soviet Union to a strategic policy of cooperative relations with America, has opened China to the West, and is comprehensively drawing on the experiences of the West. When Deng visited America and when Khrushchev visited America, they were equally welcomed; they also equally looked and listened to America and felt a strong interest in it.

An important event after Khrushchev came to power was when he personally went to Belgrade to rehabilitate Yugoslavia. He recognized that Yugoslavia was socialist and improved Soviet-Yugoslav relations. After Deng came to power he also formally restored relations between the two parties, Hua Guofeng and Tito exchanged visits, the experience of the Yugoslav system was highly evaluated and studied, and Mao's conclusion that capitalism had already been restored in Yugoslavia was repudiated.

The CPC once accused Khrushchev of attacking Albania, the "beacon of socialism in Europe"; now Sino-Albanian relations have broken down. Deng rudely "taught a lesson" to its "little socialist brother," Vietnam; this lesson caused dissatisfaction in various countries, and even friendly Romania maintained a reserved attitude.

A distinct dissimilarity between Khrushchev and Deng is that Khrushchev dared to face the theoretical questions and made a certain head-on breakthrough in them. Deng stresses reality, more action and less talk. He more often than not avoids theoretical questions; recently when a theoretical question was raised during the reform, he only called on the theoretical workers to "go into the reality of reform." Next, a point of difference is that Deng has the distinct work style of "what I say goes," which is a reflection that the democratization of the CPC lags behind that of the CPSU.

China's Khrushchev Welcomed

In short, it is not a mistake to say that Deng Xiaoping is today's China's Khrushchev, and there are full grounds for saying this. This does not mean that the successes and failures, gains and losses of the two men are the same, and naturally there are differences in the national conditions of two different countries, but in essence the two are the same in that they broke through and revised the Stalin-Mao Zedong system.

Saying that Deng is China's Khrushchev naturally does not mean that Deng models himself on Khrushchev. Precisely the opposite. Deng perhaps in everything wants to avoid being like Khrushchev. He bears unconcealed hostility toward Khrushchev and feelings of resentment. What does this show?

Communists are fond of making "the development of history is not changed by people's will" a pet phrase. From one aspect, the victory of Deng Xiaoping's revisionism and its welcome and support by the broad masses of people in China proves that Khrushchev has not been toppled, and that he, like Deng Xiaoping, should enjoy a certain place in history.

9727

CSO: 4005/643

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

1984 SEEN AS YEAR OF RETROGRESSION FOR TAIWAN

Hong Kong CHIH-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 63-66

[Article by Ch'iu Ch'ui-liang [6726 0987 0081] in "Taiwan Topics" column: "Taiwan's Political Situation in the Past Year"]

[Text] Internally the conservative forces have increased without letup, autocratic rule has been tightened, and the suppression of those outside the party has been strengthened; externally there has been a comprehensive withdrawal, a limiting of itself, and the forming of a cocoon about itself. Viewing the situation as a whole, this year's political developments in Taiwan, both in internal affairs and foreign affairs, presented an appearance of retrogression.

In June of this year, because of my mother's serious illness and death, I returned to Taiwan. At that time Chiang Ching-kuo's second term as president and Yu Kuo-hua's [0205 0948 5478] new cabinet had not begun for long. Many people at home and abroad placed their hopes on the fact that, with the appearance of new people and a new government among the national palace authorities, the long-term impasse in the confrontational struggle between the countries on the two sides of the strait would be broken and there would be actions to effect a breakthrough and blaze new trails. Unfortunately, what I saw and heard were indications and rumors of doubt and uncertainty, hesitation and indefiniteness, and conservative suppression, and everything seemed to point to a severe tightening up.

I felt deeply disturbed and disappointed, and after I returned to Australia I wrote several articles on the political developments in Taiwan. After several of my friends had read these articles, they told me that many people felt that recently my attitude toward the Taiwan national palace had hardened and the articles were sharp and harsh; a good friend even told me that my criticism of the Kuomintang was too "unrestrained" and contained many biases. With the best of intentions he said that to do this was not only making a mistake but also losing efficiency in remonstrating with the government. I know that I am a little "unrestrained," and at the outset I gave two explanations for this: 1) I hoped by delivering this "strong medicine" to impel the Kuomintang to avoid standing still, and refuse to make progress and retrogress in its conservatism; and 2) half a year ago, I really felt that the "turbulent wind preceded the mountain stream," and that the conservative forces in the

government were preparing on their own to "write off Beautiful Island" and catch all the forces outside the party remaining after the "Beautiful Island" incident in a dragnet, so I used tough language to warn against this, in the hope of avoiding the phrase "Beautiful Island."

Now, 1984 has passed. In the past year many changes occurred in the affairs of human life, and will the Kuomintang "remain unfazed amid change" and effectively begin political actions and put effective policies in practice to deal with the new and old political problems arising from all directions internally and externally, in order to point out and take the path of rationality and rule by law, freedom and democracy for the political future of Taiwan and China? Or is it like my recent criticism, namely, that in the past year the Kuomintang's political actions are really not worth explaining; that with regard to democratic modernization it has turned the clock back; that in political struggle against the Chinese communists it has again and again stood still and refused to make progress, has been unchanging amid change, has been hesitant about what move to make, and has not had the slightest determination, capability, and creativity to make a breach in this difficult position?

Conservative Forces Raise Their Heads

With regard to the internal democratic political developments in Taiwan, from the nonparty forces' defeat in the by-elections to the National Assembly at the end of last year to Chiang Ching-kuo's election to a second term as president and the formation of Yu Kuo-hua's cabinet, in this stretch of time, the nonparty forces' work of making self-criticisms and rallying themselves has not been smooth, and the contention between factionalist lines have become an unbroken sheet of flames. The Kuomintang willingly looks at their troubles with indifference. And under the state of vacuum in the political leadership stratum, in which there was no chief leader, when Chiang Ching-kuo himself is failing in health and Executive Yuan President Sun Yun-hsuan suddenly suffered a cerebral hemorrhage, the conservative forces within the Kuomintang began to take the opportunity to raise their heads and expand, and the situation of the freedom faction within the party, which for a time had looked good after Wang Sheng [3769 2573], the intelligence and security boss, had left office in June of last year, began to come under pressure from many quarters.

In personnel matters, Li Teng-hui [2621 4098 6540], who lacks deep roots in Taiwan and is comparatively lacking in boldness and ambition, took up the post of vice president, and figures like Lin Yang-chiang [2651 3152 3263], whose native forces pose a comparative threat to the conservative traditions of the Kuomintang, did not succeed to the vice presidency. Yu Kuo-hua, the Chiang "family's retainer," who lacks political ability, whose economic policies are conservative, and whose social consciousness is low, took the post of president of the Executive Yuan, and a figure like Chiang Yen-shih [5592 1750 1102], whose ideas are fairly innovative, could only retreat from his stand, and with guarded speech and cautious actions, stand on the edge of the political stage. What is more, political figures who are excessively conservative and backward, like Shen Ch'ang-huan [3088 2490 3562], Wang Tao-yuan [3076 6670 3220], Ts'ao Sheng-fen [2580 5110 5258], Chao Tzu-ch'i [6392 5261 7871], Ho 1-wu [0149 1355 2976], and their ilk "staged a comeback" and, running counter to the trend of the times, reentered (or entered) the center

of the highest policy-making authority in the Kuomintang. Shen Ch'ang-huan has become the secretary general in the President's Palace; Wang Tao-yuan has come out to head the National Security Council in the cabinet, which "makes investigations in times of disorder," and Ts'ao, Chao, and Ho have entered the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Committee, and teamed up with Huang Shao-ku [7806 1421 6253], Yuan Shou-ch'ien [5913 1343 6197], and Kao K'uei [7559 7608], the 80- or 90-year-old "senior statesmen." Within the party their conservative forces will increase and not diminish and the diehard threat will grow and not vanish, so that lightweights who have newly joined the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, like Kao Yu-jen [7559 5148 0088], Chang Chien-pang [1728 1696 6721], and Hsu Shui-te [6079 3055 1795] will appear even more pale and weak.

In May, on starting his second term as president, Chiang Ching-kuo did not announce a special amnesty for political prisoners, but appointed "Mr Accountant" Yu Kuo-hua to form a cabinet. In the cabinet lineup, besides the return of the liberal Li Huan [2621 3562], who had left office in 1977 because of the Chung-Li [0022 0960/2980] affair, which drew everybody's interest, although it was a pioneering move to put the young men of Taiwan Province origin, Chun Wu-pai [0193 0702 0184] and Shih Ch'i-yang [2457 0796 2254], respectively in charge of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Legal Affairs, it was quite obvious that, under the policy of "Taiwan people ruling Taiwan," the motive for using these two young but steady and obedient Taiwanese was to deal with the nonparty forces, the Taiwan independence movement, the political offenders, and other separatists. And with Lin Yang-chiang's being "kicked upstairs," Chao Hui-tung's [6392 6540 2639] "three strikeouts," Hsu Li-Te's display of power (there is already a rumor that he is considered prime minister material), as well as the fact that those in power do not dare and do not want to use figures who have both talent and luck, who dare to speak out, and who want to do things, and have increased their use of the members of the "whatever" faction (even making them the larger number), the conservative work style is even more clear at a glance.

Next, there is the substitution of persons in charge in the Kuomintang's central headquarters and its provincial and city headquarters with Sung Shih-hsuan [1345 2514 6693], Kuan Chung [7070 0022], Cheng Hsin-hsiung [6774 1800 7160], Ma Ying-chiu [7456 5391 0046], and other "servants" of the Chiang palace who hold real political power, and they are all products of the "family rule" traditional political education.

Of course, in speaking of politics, we must discuss people and also things, and the facts speak the truth. Chiang Ching-kuo has a serious illness, but in his second term as president he still takes the position that "I, and I alone, am qualified for the position," and this is a conservative policy decision that lacks foresight. The use of a large number of "family retainers" like Yu Kuo-hua is another conservative choice that shows a lack of initiative. Next, what has been done in the past half year with respect to the order of priority of important policies also shows everywhere this state of mind among the highest leadership stratum of wanting to maintain the achievements of their predecessors and to keep the old ways, which is basically decrepit and behind the times.

Strengthening of Internal Suppression

Making a careful count of the political achievements of the Chiang Ching-kuo regime during this stretch of time, we really cannot find any highly promising policies worth playing up, and in particular there were even fewer innovative policies promoting Taiwan's freedom, democracy, and modernization. After a long period of increasing appeals and pressure at home and abroad, in the days of the state of terror about the "writing off Beautiful Island," the government suddenly, at "Chiang Ching-kuo's painful" leadership will, released from prison, either by commutation of sentence or parole, Lin I-hsiung [2651 5030 7160] and the elders Kao Chun-ming [7559 0193 2494] and Lin Wen-chen [2651 2429 3791] who had been implicated in the Shih Ming-te [2457 2494 1795] fugitive case. This decision to release a few persons, which had been slow in coming and which had been put off again and again, nevertheless drew the admiration of people of all quarters at home and abroad. Doubtless, it was the political act of the Kuomintang that was most worthy of affirming in the past year.

However, not long afterward, Shih Ch'i-yang, minister of local affairs, unabashedly announced to the Legislative Yuan: Taiwan has no political prisoners but only criminal prisoners who have been legally tried by courts, and Taiwan, unlike such countries as South Korea and the Philippines, has no necessity to release political prisoners. In addition, a variety of signs support the common view that the other principal offenders in the "Beautiful Island" incident -- Yao Chia-wen [1202 0857 2429], Chang Chun-hung [1728 0193 1347] and Lu hsiu-lien [0172 4423 5571]-- will probably have to complete their long terms of imprisonment before they will again see days in the free world. In early November, for the reason that he had not learned his lesson, the National Palace authorities moved Lin Hung-hsuan [2651 1738 1357], one of the victims in the "Beautiful Island" trial under military law, from the well-appointed Mingte Prison to an offshore island, where his family members will have difficulty in seeing him and which is a hell on earth. This unhuman political decision drew widespread concern and protests, and once again showed the antidemocratic, antimodernization side of the National Palace regime.

With regard to the basic human right of freedom of speech, although last year nonparty magazines sprung up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain, the Kuomintang has repeatedly banned them, and also repeatedly protected their appearance in the "double hundred" style, which actually is only one of the tactical applications of the Kuomintang's policy. First, by protecting the expansion and worsening of the confused situation in the contention between the nonparty line and the leadership authority, the Kuomintang easily reaps unfair gains; and second, by banning the magazines without letup, it strikes a blow at the economic foundation of the magazines published by the nonparty forces. In June, July and August, because the nonparty magazines engaged in large-scale "studies of the Kuomintang," exposing the past and present dark side of the Chiang family and the party, there was general alarm, and the Kuomintang suspended the publication for 1 year of nine magazines --CH'IENTSIN SHIH-CHIEN, TZU-YU SHIH-TAI, MIN-CHU SHIH-TAI, TAI-WAN KUAN-CHANG, BASHIH NIEN-TAI, HSIN CHAO-LIU, CHENG-CHIH-CHIA, HSIEN-FENG SHIH-TAI, and PENG-LAI TAO -- and at the same time banned and confiscated more than 40 issues of nonparty publications. For the past half year, the Kuomintang has also

launched a comprehensive attack of encirclement and suppression through the mass media on the nonparty magazines.

In this political atmosphere of "witch hunting," at the end of November, Chang Ching-yu [1728 0079 5148], who had not been in office as director of the News Bureau for very long, declared self-contradictedly: "Speaking from the viewpoint of the law, in Article 27 of the Criminal Code on the crimes of libel and slander, there are provisions for the punishment of those who commit the crimes of openly insulting or slandering others, and the ordinary citizen and the head of state receive equal protection from them; if a publication violates these provisions, those responsible will be punished in accordance with the law." He also said: Recently, in political magazines, the expressions of opinion have been greatly different from what they were in the past, "In the past many magazines skirted a line on the fringes of the law, but at least they kept within its bounds; now, with a mixture of truth and falsehood, they wantonly attack the senior officers of the government, instigate division right and left, and even slander the former president, Mr Chiang, and his family members, and scathingly criticize the government about the results of its building a base for restoration."

Actually, whether something is inside or outside the bounds of the law, or whether the crime of slander has been established or not, are matters that can only be determined by a court trial. The common people and the head of state are equal under the law, so where are the legal principles and arguments for several intelligence and security personnel to have the power of passing judgement themselves and at will deciding what is slander and what is breaking the law? Even more, where are the legal principles and legal systems for an intelligence and security unit, after it has made its own secret judgement and decision, to carry out with vigor and energy the suspension of publication, bans, and confiscations? With this kind of feudal political behavior in which legislative, judicial, and administrative power is concentrated in one body, where is a trace of human rights, rule by law, democracy, and freedom? And the true problem lies in the enforcement of martial law for the longest time in modern history, a law which is the most inexplicable and most illegitimate. The Kuomintang has stressed again and again that it only puts into effect 3 percent of the martial law, but it has strung together records in banning parties, banning newspapers, banning publications, in trying political offenders with the force of a thunderbolt, and in restricting other basic human rights.

Therefore, on 21 November, Wu Pai-hsiung [0702 0184 7160], minister of the interior in the government, openly announced in the Legislative Yuan that all organizations like the Nonparty Public Employees Public Policy Discussion Society are illegal organizations, and if they do not on their own disband and stop their activities, the relevant units will legally ban them. Obviously, every person feels that, with the severe tightening of Taiwan's political atmosphere, the Kuomintang will utilize this 3 percent of the martial law to display its power and purge dissidents.

For many years, nonparty forces have not been able to run newspapers, not been able to organize parties, and not been able to hold parades and demonstrations. Some mass organizations of a nonpolitical party nature and a

contacting and associative nature, like the Service Office of "Beautiful Island," Hsu Hsin-liang's [6079 0207 5328] Ch'ing-sheng Hui, the Hou-yuan Hui during the elections, and the joint friendship associations of magazine editors and writers, only endure with difficulty amid constant strife. The "illegality" of these assemblies and associations is because, during the martial law period, people's assemblies and associations have to be handled by application and registration. The problem is that the Kuomintang can arbitrarily organize mass service societies, political parties, and other organizations, itself applying for permission to itself, a case of "the magistrates are allowed to burn down houses while the common people are forbidden even to light lamps," and it does not easily allow applications for registration of any nonparty "embryonic party" or organization of a political nature. Having no alternative, the nonparty forces are forced on their own initiative to organize mass organizations like reinforcement societies, public administration societies, and fellowship associations, hoping by this means to unite, bring together, and link up the nonparty forces and opinions. Recently, Chiang P'eng-chien [3068 7720 1017], member of the nonparty legislative committee, has been preparing to establish a Taiwan Human Rights Association, but observers think that, because of its strong nonparty coloring, this human rights association will not be permitted to register legally.

Giving permission or not is one thing; picking up the executioner's mace of martial law to use it against these nonpolitical party organizations outside the party is another thing. Doing this is nothing but wilfully extending the martial law into an instrument of political suppression. Looking at the political developments in Taiwan for more than 30 years, we see that this is really an obvious tightening up and retrogression, that it runs counter to the development of democratic politics, and that it is sufficient to create an extreme polarization in politics. This step forces people unwillingly to take the political action of "climbing Liangshan" [Liangshanbo is the homebase of a gang of hero-bandits in the fictional work "Water Margin"], and the Kuomintang policy-making authorities should think thrice before they do it.

Big Retreat in Foreign Policy

Almost all quarters think that one of the main reasons that the American newspaper CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO [CHINA TIMES] stopped publication was that rise of and oppression by the conservative forces within the Kuomintang made Yu Chi-chung [7411 4764 1813] feel that he would find it difficult to carry on and cope with the situation. In reporting the Olympic Games, because he factually reported the successes of the Chinese mainland athletes, Yu Chi-chung was struggled against at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee, and given the red label of being one who "helped the bandit united front" and "boosted the bandits." In the U.S. general election at the beginning of November, the newspaper published an editorial criticizing Reagan, for which editor-in-chief Yu Kuo-chi [0205 0948 1015] was dismissed, and at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee Yu Chi-chung was wantonly vilified by the conservative forces as "running counter to national policy." These facts also helped to bring about a loss of fighting will on the part of Yu Chi-chung, who was losing money in running CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO, and he chose to stop publication.

The initial solution of Hong Kong's 1997 problem and its evolution into the "one country, two systems" pattern has put the KMT into a dilemma in which it cannot hold its own. Once it shouts "the future of Hong Kong should be decided by the residents of Hong Kong," it will immediately discover some people's response to be to shout that the future of Taiwan should be decided by the 18 million people of Taiwan. Once it says "veto," and will not accept any talks or agreements between China and Britain, it immediately discovers that it cannot "veto" the abrogation of the unequal treaties and the recovery of China's lost territories. Once it flatly rejects any arrangements for "one country, two systems" and categorically denies its feasibility, it will immediately discover that it must actively support this arrangement, and even take part in the collation and stipulation of the rules and regulations, the promotion and the safeguarding of Hong Kong's different system. Once it maintains that "the Han [Chinese] and the traitors cannot stand together," that the interests and the organizations of the KMT in Hong Kong cannot continue to exist in the post-1977 Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which would create peaceful contacts and coexistence between the Nationalists and Communists, and even the "false impression" of talks between them, it will immediately feel that Hong Kong is too important to Taiwan and that it cannot speak lightly about abandoning and withdrawing, and also, because of actual circumstances, it can neither withdraw or completely accept Hong Kong's pro-Taiwan "liberal figures" and cultural, educational, industrial, and commercial organizations. The result is that, under the circumstances in which it has no alternative and cannot hold its own, Taiwan will be more and more forced into a political blind angle built by its ideology. From accepting with difficulty the "Olympic model" in the middle of the year to rejecting and negating comprehensively the pattern of "one country and two systems" and the pattern of the "Greater China Confederation" proposed by Fei Hsi-p'ing [6316 1585 1627] of the Legislative Council, the rational explanations that the KMT has been able to come up with have become weaker and weaker.

Actually, Taiwan's acceptance of the "Olympic model" by participating in the Los Angeles Olympic Games was a courageous beginning. Unfortunately, because the Chinese mainland's performance in the Olympics was vivid and dramatic, and caused a very big shock in the Overseas Chinese communities and on the world stage, Taiwan felt that, by comparison, it had lost face. In addition, after the Olympics, in the Asian Bank, the World Crime Watch Organization, and other international activities and organizations, the "Olympic model" will be brought up time and again, and will be a compromise that Taiwan must accept to keep its membership and take part in activities. This rapid development of "the enemy waxes while we wane" and the worldwide popularization of the "Olympic model" has made the KMT unable to bear within itself the conservatives who uphold "Confucian orthodoxy." Even if many people in Taiwan believe that the "Olympic model" is a narrow but passable way for Taiwan to break through its difficult situation and return to the international community, those obstinate old men are doing their best to block the way by not only basically rejecting the reunification model of "one country, two systems" deduced from the problem of Hong Kong's future, but also by rejecting, without the slightest consideration and with one voice, the political model of the "Greater China Confederation" proposed by Fei Hsi-p'ing in the Legislative Yuan.

Fei Hsi-p'ing's confederation proposition, except for the difference that it would dispel the enmity caused by the present confrontational situation between the Nationalists and the Communists, is roughly identical to Taiwan and the Chinese mainland each having its own independent internal affairs, its own independent foreign affairs, and its own independent national defense, and in neither country having an organ with supreme power. This is an initial political arrangement that would maintain the status quo but that could lead to a rational solution of the dispute between the two sides and of China's reunification, and also it basically has many points of similarity with the reunification plan proposed by Deng Xiaoping in June of last year, as well as the statements concerning the problem of reunification with Taiwan issued by Deng Xiaoping and other leading figures after the initialing of the Sino-British joint statement on the Hong Kong problem. If it is inclined to usher in a new situation and make a breakthrough in its difficult position, and launch a political offensive against the CPC, the KMT should consider Fei Hsi-p'ing's suggestion for a confederation, and it need not, because of the haunting of that feudal face of "legally constituted authority," which has been dead for more than 30 years, vehemently denounce the expression of political views on the "Greater China Confederation" as treasonous and heretical talk that "violates the constitution," as talk of the extinction of the country that "would plunge our descendants into a plight beyond redemption." To vehemently denounce the confederation and declare that the "Olympic model" "cannot be used in all cases" shows a big retreat by the KMT in its struggle against the CPC's united front, and is a big retreat that causes people to lose heart and to withdraw without fighting.

Concluding Words

The inevitable result created by this big withdrawal in external affairs is that the KMT has restrained its activities, got enmeshed in a web of its own spinning, guarded itself by shrinking back, and, ostrich-like, buried its head in the soil of an isolated island. In external affairs martial law has been used to tighten its autocratic rule. Recently, the government has repeatedly issued orders prohibiting the people of Taiwan from, directly or indirectly, engaging in trade relations or contacts with the Chinese mainland, or going to the mainland, via Japan or Hong Kong, to sightsee or visit relatives. The three mine disasters, which caused heavy casualties, since Yu Kuo-hua came to power also showed the slowness and powerlessness of the authorities in making policy decisions and taking action. In the Chiang Nan [3068 0584]--Henry Liu--murder case and the Sao Hei--roundup of sinister elements--movement in Taiwan, it has been revealed that the murderers belonged to the Bamboo Gang and there is a rumor that the Bamboo Gang has faint but close connections with the government's intelligence and security units, thereby increasing people's suspicion that the murder of Chiang Nan was a KMT political assassination. All the above-mentioned instances, plus the suppression of nonparty magazines, organizations, and activities, as well as the storm surrounding the stopping of the publication of the American CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO, although truth is mixed with falsehood and the inner story is complex, looked at comprehensively and consistently, show that in the year 1984 there appeared in Taiwan's political developments, both in internal affairs and external affairs, a retrogression. Internally, in freedom, democracy, and modernization, and externally, in the anti-united front

struggle to break out of its state of isolation, the government has repeatedly hesitated to go forward, and has repeatedly sat back and let good opportunities slip by, with the result that it has repeatedly fallen behind the trend of the times.

10 December 1984, Hong Kong

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PRESENT SITUATION OF FORMER DAZHAI PARTY SECRETARY

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 89, Mar 85 pp 26-27

[Article by Han Chun [3352 0193]: "Chen Yonggui Talks About Reform"]

[Text] Not long ago, with the cooperation of Hong Kong businessmen, on several tens of mu of the Shuangqiao Farm in the eastern suburbs of Beijing, amusement park facilities were installed. Many people of the farm smiled simply and honestly as they looked at this new plaything, and among them was Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311], who was once the secretary of the Dazhai party branch and a vice premier.

At the beginning the people of the farm were very indifferent toward Chen Yonggui. Chen Yonggui, who had been a vice premier, was not the number one man there, and not even the number two man, but was only an adviser. Now most people of the farm have a good opinion of Chen Yonggui, and they have sent a person to be his secretary.

He Himself Lined Up To Buy Pork

Originally he lived in a compound in Liudaokou. Over 3 years ago, on his own initiative, he asked to be moved out of that place. Not taking his own secretary, bodyguard, and attendant, he only kept his special car and moved to a big building in a minister's residence in Fuxingmen. After he had moved, Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534] [member of the CPC Politburo] moved into his old residence. Living with Chen Yonggui are his wife and his youngest son, number four, Chen Mingliang [7115 2494 0081] and the latter's son Chen Huaifu [7115 5478 4395].

Chen Yonggui still maintains the work style of a common peasant. Every day he arises around 5 am, goes downstairs and walks around the big building. After that he goes upstairs and waters his flowers. The flowers and plants of this Dazhai personage grow luxuriantly and turn a glossy dark green; a red peony of his blooms in all four seasons. Living in the vicinity of the big building are Liu Shaoqi's wife Wang Guangmei [3769 0342 5019]; the famous scholar Liang Shuming [2733 3359 3298]; and the writers Hu Feng [5170 7364] and Ding Ling [0002 3781], whom Mao Zedong once respectively attacked as a "hidden counterrevolutionary" and a "big rightist."

Chen Yonggui has no misgivings about his hard lot today. This old peasant,

whose monthly wage is 150 yuan, does not put on airs because he was once a vice premier. People who live near him often see him standing in line to buy pork, green vegetables, rice and flour. He doesn't speak much, but he is affable and friendly. He does not have any "special privileges," and leaves a very good impression on people.

Why He Has Not Returned to Dazhai

Why does Chen Yonggui live in Beijing and not return to Dazhai? It is said that this is an idea of the higher authorities. Obviously, Chen Yonggui came out of the hard struggle at Dazhai, and he certainly has a lot of influence there. If he is unable to take a resigned attitude, and wants to fight as a guerrilla, it is feared that some people will follow him, so he remains in Beijing, like a fish out of water, where he poses no danger.

The CPC's use of the "stragem of luring the tiger out of his den" is very smooth. There is a headman of a border nationality who, because of his disloyalty to the party, was transferred by the CPC Central Committee to Beijing for a long residence. In the year that a Living Buddha of Xizang sympathized with and helped The Dalai Lama's rebellion, the CPC did not let him stay in Xizang, and has made him live in Beijing for a long time. Recently the CPC indicated that it would welcome the return to China of the Dalai Lama, who has been in India for many years, but one condition is that he not live in Xizang.

Deng Xiaoping Wants Him To Study Well

It is said that the leaders, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, and Li Xiannian, once had a talk with Chen Yonggui, in which they urged him not to be in low spirits. Deng Xiaoping urged him to "study well, recognize new things, and sum up your own experiences." Therefore, every day Chen Yonggui reads documents, newspapers, and reference materials. He thinks that in the past several years China has made very big progress; of course, things are not a hundred percent good, but some things are gradually being perfected and there is hope in the general direction. The contract responsibility system, he says, is good, and not only should there be responsibility in agriculture but also there should be responsibility in other professions; if there is no responsibility things will be let to drift along. At that time, he said, there was hard work at Dazhai, there was responsibility in the work; if there had been no responsibility, things would have been done badly.

When telling his people his views on communes, Chen Yonggui says that the premature setting up of communes led to contradictions and that collectivization was done too hastily. In distribution, he said, particular stress was put on the collective, equal consideration was not given to the state, the collective, and the individual, and insufficient attention was paid to the individual's interests. "If people don't make any profit, who would be willing to get up early?" When Chen Yonggui is talking with someone, words always flow from his mouth as from the pen of a master. In the years that Premier Zhou talked with Chen Yonggui, the premier felt that this peasant was not all that simple. It was precisely Premier Zhou who paid particular attention to Chen Yonggui.

Not Admitting to Political Ambition

Someone once asked Chen Yonggui for his views on the reform currently being carried out, and he straightforwardly answered: "I approve of and support the country's reform; the inadequacies in it can be gradually perfected."

However, Chen Yonggui has told some people that during the gang of four period he took exception to the practice of fraud and the political ambitions of the gang of four period. In 1958, during the Great Leap Forward, Xiyang was making a great stir about being a 1,000-jin county, but Dazhai's per-mu output was only 200 jin. The leaders at that time wanted him to report to the higher authorities that it was 1,000 jin, but he did not do so. Someone said, "You're not a model worker since you didn't report this to the higher authorities." That year Chen Yonggui was not allowed to attend the model worker conference. In 1973, Xiyang County put out propaganda about "unprecedented drought, unprecedented effort, and unprecedented bumper harvest," but several days after this propaganda appeared in the press there occurred a dry frost, and there was a discrepancy between the estimated yield and the actual yield. The county originally estimated its yield would be 300 million jin, but it harvested a little over 200 million jin, a reduction of one-third. This was a special situation. However, some people who were good at following the way the wind was blowing hit him when he was down by raising the matter to the higher plane of principle, saying that Chen Yonggui had political ambitions and wanted to win promotion and get rich. This statement was unfair.

It Is Better Now That He Is Not a Vice Premier

After Chen Yonggui fell from power, his sons and daughters also suffered. His oldest son was described in the newspapers as an unpardonably wicked "son of high official Chen" and he was expelled from the Communist Party. Actually, the report on his crimes was incapable of verification. To this day he still works in the Propaganda Department of Xiyang County. Much hearsay and rumor about Chen Yonggui and Guo Fenglian [6753 7685 5571] also does not fit the facts. This propaganda, which violates the principle of seeking truth from facts, actually is another manifestation of the saying "when a man gets to the top, all his friends and relatives get there with him."

Many people think that if the persons in power in the CPC have a use for a certain person at a certain time they will praise him to the skies; if they have no use for a certain person at a certain time, they will throw him into the 18-level hell and even implicate his family members. These two practices are both intolerable. In the years when Chen Yonggui led a small body of persons working together in hard struggle, he was not without his successes. But, in the final analysis, he is not a politician, and he should not have been made vice premier and a member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee. Now, perhaps, he is better off!

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

CURRENT REPORT ON PROMINENT FIGURES IN 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 89, Mar 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Ch'en Lei [7115 7191]: "Recent Situation of Several Trusted Lieutenants of the 'Cultural Revolution'"]

[Text] It has already been more than 8 years since the gang of four fell from power, and the dejected trusted lieutenants of the "Cultural Revolution" who followed the gang of four have also gone through a very long stretch of time. In their minds and faces does there remain some marks of these years?

Wang Hairong Has Recently Taken Up a New Post

During the "Cultural Revolution," every time Mao Zedong received foreign guests, at his side were two young women interpreters (also notetakers), and this form, which was almost a fixed pattern, made a deep impression on the minds of figures at home and abroad. These two women interpreters were Wang Hairong [3769 3189 1369] and Tang Wenshang [0781 5113 3932].

Wang Hairong is Mao Zedong's grandniece. Her grandfather Wang Lifan [3769 2621 4636] and Mao Zedong were maternal cousins, the two men were fellow students at the First Normal School in Hunan Province. In 1949, after the Chinese communists set up their government, Wang Lifan became the minister of education. Because she had this connection, before the "Cultural Revolution" Wang Hairong often passed in and out of Zhongnankai and got close to Mao Zedong.

Although Wang Hairong came from an illustrious family, her study achievements during her school years were just passable. Her marks on graduation from middle school were only average, and she failed the college entrance examination. So she went to Beijing and worked in a chemical plant for 2 years. Two years before the "Cultural Revolution," Wang Hairong "passed the entrance examination" for Beijing Teachers College, where she did not make any mark in her studies. In 1968, after the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution," she graduated.

At that time, Mao Zedong had destroyed Liu Shaoqi's line in foreign affairs and he needed to train a new generation of "revolutionary diplomats." Wang Hairong precisely suited this requirement, and there was no need for her, like

other sons and daughters of high-level cadres, to go through the transformation of "working in the countryside and mountain areas." The successor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent her to a foreign language college, where, with a person specially assigned to coach her, she studied the Russian language for 8 months. In 1969, at the height of the "Cultural Revolution," Wang Hairong entered the political world. She was 28 years old at the time.

From the time that she began to be an interpreter, she quickly rose to be the director of the Department of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and afterward was promoted to vice minister. Because of being busy with the ups and downs of political affairs, Wang Hairong had to put off love and marriage. The higher the position she climbed to, the fewer men dared to become involved with her, and this caused much feelings of depression to this woman who by now was over 30 years old. In 1976, when the gang of four fell from power, Wang Hairong was 35. After going through many years of the torment of confessions and investigations, she became even more thin and pallid. Now, Wang Hairong is 45, and a verdict has been reached on her case. Recently she was assigned to a post in the Counselor's Office of the State Council. It is said that a job has also been arranged for Tang Wenshang.

The Chinese Heart of Zhuang Zedong

Tolstoy once wrote that happy families are similar to each other, but that sad families each have their own sadness, and the individual fate and hard lot of Wang Hairong and Zhuang Zedong [5445 0463 2767] also have points of similarity. Thinking of those years when the two of them were in power, they were equally complacent, but once they fell from power they each had their own difficulties.

Zhuang Zedong's case was more serious than that of Wang Hairong, and when he was director of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission he took a direct part in the gang of four's plot and persecuted many people. In 1976, after Zhuang Zedong was arrested he was imprisoned for a period of time. After a clear distinction was made between him and the gang of four, he was released and became a table tennis coach in a children's sports school in Linfen Prefecture, Shaanxi Province. There he ran into Niu Shen [6873 3234], a fellow sportsman at the Beijing Children's Palace in the fifties, after which he became a boarder in Niu Shen's house.

Through examining his own errors, he felt that he should cast aside his political feelings of resentment and do some truly good deeds for the nation and the state. He thought of writing a history of his own participation in the sport of table tennis, using his experiences and lessons to explain and guide the cause of the people's sports.

First, to make up lessons in his own education, he read more than 5,000 books on sports, literature, and philosophy, and then invited Niu Shen to collaborate with him in writing a planned monumental work of about 400,000 Chinese characters entitled "Tempering and Creating."

Zhuang Zedong's work was written under extremely arduous circumstances. After he tumbled from his high position, politically people looked down upon him as of no account, and economically he was in straightened circumstances. Not counting money spent on buying books and materials, he had to save money to engage a photographer of the Xishan Coal Mine to take a large number of shots of technical movements in table tennis as illustrations for his book. Every day, for his daily necessities, he rushed about the agricultural and trading markets, and had to bargain with the vegetable sellers. For a man who was a world sports star and had been the director of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission to work so hard and rush about to put out a "work to pass on to the world" was a little beyond the mark."

Later, conditions became a little better for him, and he was transferred back to Taiyuan City, where he became the coach of the province's women's table tennis team. At the beginning of 1983, under his training the Shanxi women's team defeated the state women's team in 12 straight matches, also defeating the world champion who was on the state team at that time. Because of this, fresh blood was brought into the state team. Not long afterward, he finished the manuscript of "Tempering and Creating," in which were blended technique, intellect, philosophy, and interest. He delivered the manuscript to the Zhanwang Publishing House in Beijing, and at the same time wrote a letter to Vice Premier Wan Li [5502 6849], who was in charge of sports work.

Finally, after several months, in October 1983 the party Central Committee reached a verdict on the case of Zhuang Zedong's political history, and Wan Li issued an instruction with regard to his letter: Assign him to a job immediately and let his book be published.

Last year, after being banished to a strange community for 9 years, Zhuang Zedong returned to Beijing, and also returned to his old school, the Children's Palace in Beijing. When some publishers abroad found out that Zhuang Zedong wanted to publish a book, he sent people to Beijing to seek him out and act on their behalf to have the book published abroad. Some were willing to pay 800,000 Hong Kong dollars for the publication rights, and some were willing to pay \$200,000, but Zhuang Zedong politely turned down their offers one by one. In a letter he wrote to Wan Li, he said: "I am a Chinese, I don't write books to make money...but to return seeds to the earth, return seeds to the mother." However, he welcomed the publication abroad of this book by his old Japanese friend Ogimura.

Zhuang Zedong and Ogimura were both stars in the table tennis world in the sixties, and they both won the world championship. As members of opposing teams, the two became good friends from different countries. In 1983, after Ogimura heard the news that Zhuang Zedong was going to write a book, he gave a letter to the Shanxi People's publishing House to pass on to Zhuang Zedong, asking for the publishing rights for the translated version of this book, but at that time a verdict had not yet been reached on Zhuang Zedong's political case, and it was inappropriate for Zhuang to write in reply. At the end of last year, the two old friends, Ogimura and Zhuang Zedong, were reunited, and, with regard to the publishing rights question, which had dragged on for nearly 2 years, Ogimura fulfilled his long-cherished wish. He signed a contract with the Zhanwang Publishing House for the joint publication of the book "Tempering

and Creating," under which it was decided that the book would simultaneously be published in the Chinese, Japanese, English, French, and Spanish languages. Therefore, recently the publishing circles on the mainland have set off a small "Zhuang Zedong craze." First, some tabloids spread the news, then Tianjin's JINWAN BAO carried a serial feature article entitled "Zhuang Zedong and Origawa," and recently BAOGAO WENXUE's [REPORT ON LITERATURE] February 1985 issue carried a monograph introducing "Tempering and Creating." We will not speak about Zhuang Zedong's behavior during the "Cultural Revolution," but say that his conduct this year is that of one who "does not change when poor and lowly, and who does not wallow in riches and honor."

"Female Hooligan" Gets Academic Degree

Other well-known figures in the "Cultural Revolution" who, like Zhuang Zedong and Wang Hairong, have again become figures in the news are Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] (see the introductory monograph in this issue of CHENG MING) and Huang Shuai [7806 1596].

A little over 10 years ago, when Huang Shuai was still a primary school student, she was used by politicians as a tool for their seizure of power. Mao Zedong once called her a little heroine who "went against the tide." Once Mao Zedong was dead, people immediately called her a "female hooligan."

However, Huang Shuai herself was not bad. She studied arduously and conscientiously, and in 1980 with fairly good marks she passed the entrance examination for Beijing Industrial University. But when she was enrolled, the relevant unit stirred up a controversy, which took an unexpected turn. In 1981, Hu Yaobang and other central leaders took an interest in Huang Shuai's case. They made it clear that this was a "primary school student's case" for which she was not responsible, and they reached a political verdict on her case. Without a doubt, this removed a heavy stone from Huang Shuai's tender spirit. In addition, after RENMIN RIBAO reported that she had passed the entrance examination for the university, she received many letters from all over the country encouraging her, which made her more content and diligent in her studies.

During her period of study, Huang Shuai took part in an English language competition of Beijing Municipality's science and engineering college and won the second prize. Recently she satisfactorily completed all of her university studies and her graduation thesis, and the school awarded her a graduation certificate and a Bachelor of Science Degree.

By her conduct she has negated her own "going against the tide" of those years, and without a doubt this is an "atonement" for her defiance of cultural knowledge in those years.

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ARTICLE EXAMINES CPC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MARXISM

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 47-50

[Article by Mu Fu [3668 1133]: "The Chinese Communists and Marxism"]

[Text] If the Chinese communists were reverent and respectful toward Marx, then the probable result would have been that there would have been neither a Mao Zedong nor a Deng Xiaoping; although the actions of Mao and Deng differed in that one was left and the other right, their political philosophy, namely pragmatism, was identical.

Special Topic: The Spring of China's Economy

The year 1984, which was extremely rich in subtle meanings, has finally passed. One year ago, when this year was about to begin, many sensitive and resourceful writers and editors recalled without prior consultation the idea of their fellow professional of the older generation, George Orwell, namely, the "Big Brother" of "Oceania" and his omnipresent monitoring of every person.

At that time, the Chinese mainland was in the midst of the overbearing campaign "to eradicate spiritual pollution," and the specter of Mao Zedong had not been dispersed. Would the China of 1984 be vexed by the terror, still remembered, of a new Cultural Revolution? Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-four" was still a powerful warning by analogy.

Now we see: The China of 1984 was not that of "Nineteen Eighty-four."

Several days ago, at the opening ceremony of what is called the biggest nightclub in the world, in the eastern part of Hong Kong's bustling Chienshachu district, Li Chuwen [2621 0328 2429], deputy director of the Hong Kong Office of XINHUA, who was attending the ceremony on invitation, made a toast: "To the nightclub, a sign of prosperity," and he professed to be unable to dance but would study how to. When a reporter asked him if nightclubs could still be opened after 1997, this political representative of the Chinese communists stationed in Hong Kong, in a tone seldom heard, said: "You will still be young then, and you can still play." Wang Kuang-ying [3769 0342 5391], the "red" capitalist who had been invited to cut the ribbon at the opening ceremony, in high spirits raised his glass and shouted: "Horse races will be permitted! Dancing will be permitted!" The next day, leftist

newspapers reported that Ch'en Hsiang-tao [7115 7449 2711], the younger sister of Ch'en Hsiang-mei [7115 7449 2734], the boss of this nightclub and a noted Chinese business woman in America, would go to Beijing next year and discuss with Deng Xiaoping the possibility of opening a nightclub in Beijing. (Miss Ch'en is a relative of Liao Chengzhi [1675 2110 1807]).

This news, which was of a fairly stimulating nature, unavoidably made people connect it in their minds with a rumor in Beijing some time ago: Deng Xiaoping had verbally responded to a foreign businessman that a small island could be leased at a high price for the running of a gambling house and a brothel, but Chinese people would not be allowed to set foot on the island.

What happened in China in 1984?

In internal and foreign affairs there were two important events: the comprehensive carrying out of the reform of the economic system decided by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee and the agreement reached by China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong. Without the slightest doubt these two events are a result of socialism with a human touch that will go down in history. The opening up of the market economy and the promotion of "one country with two systems" nearly received worldwide acclaim. If we don't discuss them in overelaborate detail, we can roughly sum them up in two proofs of non-Nineteen Eightyfour-ization.

As an eyewitness, I dare to say that China has already been through its "Nineteen Eighty-four" phase. Everything in the initial stage of the Cultural Revolution outdid the circumstances in "Oceania," and the daily "asking for instructions in the morning" bore a striking resemblance to the "two-minute hate period" depicted by Orwell. I remember that two Beijing University students once called Chairman Mao "Big Brother."

However, today those CPC members who took rectifying and harming people as their lifework have already been sarcastically referred to by the party newspaper as "people who fed off the party" and "gluttons who fed off the blood and sweat of the people." After the campaign to eliminate "spiritual pollution" was swiftly stopped, a new "pollution" cropped up. While "thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution," Hu Yaobang encouraged a reform in lifestyle. Talking a lot about eating and drinking, he wanted the peasants, after they had stopped work for the day and returned home, to drink their fill. Youth idol Lei Feng was also called in question. Writer Shao Yanxiang [6730 3601 4382] wrote in RENMIN RIBAO: "Lei Feng even gruded eating a 5-fen popsicle. This was understandable and was also a social phenomenon worthy of deep thought. However, is it an act worthy of emulation that should be publicized?" In December the first friendly dance competition was held in Beijing. And it is said that certain agricultural and dairy products as well as imported cosmetics that in the past were only for the use of Jiang Qing, have already become hot items on the market for which supply cannot meet demand.

A party that stressed that spirit and doctrine were supreme seems to have turned all of a sudden into a party that stresses putting reality and money in command, and, faced with the tempestuous upsurge in seeking wealth, people

seemed to have forgotten Deng Xiaoping's speech about the "four upholds." A Commentator's article in the 7 December RENMIN RIBAO openly stated: "We cannot demand that works of Marx and Lenin in their times solve our current problems." This obviously was a sentence whose meaning was to depart from the classics and rebel against orthodoxy, and it immediately drew widespread reaction. On the next day, the newspaper made an "addition and correction" in which "current problems" were changed to "all current problems." Five days later JIEFANGJUN BAO published a commentator's article, stressing that the principle of party spirit and the discipline of the party must not be "untied," and, in the name of Chen Yun's [7115 0061] directive, indirectly criticized RENMIN RIBAO. Although this episode showed an existing internal contradiction, we still cannot lose sight of the fact that it was a philosophical expression of the mainstream's faction's attempt to free itself from Marxism-Leninist dogma. RENMIN RIBAO is the party's mouthpiece controlled by Hu Yaobang. According to a foreign dispatch, this commentator's article only expressed Hu Yaobang's bold deduction about orthodox doctrine at a recent theoretical meeting.

At the same time, it is thought that in the CPC more and more people are "taking the capitalist road."

The Chinese Communists' "Greatest Weakness"

Now, the questions put before people who pay close attention to China's affairs and their development is: What relationship does this superparty, which has 40 million members and has gone through more than 60 years of intense struggle, have with orthodox Marxism? Does it actually believe in Marx? To explore this question it will be helpful to estimate how much of the change Deng Xiaoping is seeking stems from strategic design and how much from a change in ideology.

To be sure, the CPC was established under the support of the Third International headed by Lenin, and in its initial stage a group of radical intellectuals who accepted the ideas of the Russian Revolution were the party's backbone, but when the CPC became a contending force in the political stage what was its ideology? At the beginning of the Yan'an rectification movement, in July 1941, Liu Shaoqi issued an incisive viewpoint within the party: "The Chinese party has a great weakness. This weakness is that the party's mastery of ideological preparation and theory is insufficient and comparatively naive." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," p 220) Of course, what he meant was Marxist-Leninist theory. At Yan'an during the upsurge in resistance to Japan, Mao Zedong also felt that he had abundant experiences of struggle but lacked theoretical contributions. On the one hand he fiercely filled the gap with translated works of Marx and Lenin, and also intentionally through the rectification campaign studies raised the entire party's "level of Marxism," but in fact in the 3-year Yan'an rectification campaign not only were the theoretical results tiny, but, on the contrary, they developed into a serious enlarged inner-party struggle. Afterward, the party threw itself into the fierce civil war with the Kuomintang.

Therefore, in 1949, when it took over the regime and became the party in power, the CPC had not yet completed the "theoretical preparation" that Liu

Shaoqi had talked about. In 1950, when Mao Zedong visited Moscow, TASS began to call him "mister." Before this, Stalin had once described the CPC to an American reporter as a "white radish with a red skin," and he would only recognize the CPC revolution as being in the category of "bourgeois democratic revolutions." It is said that Mao, to express his reverence for Stalin, once asked the CPSU to send him a theoretical adviser. (See Chapter 18 in Khrushchev's memoirs)

Before and after the CPC took power, it did not, like the Soviet Union, accept Marxist-Leninist doctrine as the one and only way but as a doctrine that could be interpreted. First of all, its leader insisted on the idea of "the countryside surrounding the cities." This was a pattern never seen in the Marxist-Leninist classics and, in the end, victory was obtained. This is what Mao in his heart of hearts thought of as the basis for his glory, and he made those who called themselves returned students of Marx and Lenin pale by comparison. After Stalin died Mao's egocentric consciousness swelled; in his inner circle he ridiculed and devalued Stalin, and he contended with the CPSU for leadership of the international communist movement. Mao's generally acknowledged idea that he was a feudal emperor naturally engendered in his subconsciousness a resistance to doctrines from abroad. This resistance was concealed in the garb of Marx and Lenin and was concealed by his criticism of dogmatism and his advocacy of the slogan "seek truth from facts."

Second, China was a large backward agricultural country, and in modern industry it was extremely weak. When the CPC was founded, there were only 2 million industrial workers in the entire country; by 1953, the number of workers was 5.05 million, not even 1 percent of the total population. (see the attached table in Ma Yinchu's [7456 1377 0443] "On Population," but in 1951 there were 5.8 million CPC members. Obviously, it was very difficult for the doctrine formulated by Marx for a mature capitalist society to strike root in China. The CPC bragged that it was the "vanguard of the working class," but everywhere it revealed the tail of a peasant party, and its policies often manifested the parochialism of the small-peasant mentality.

Third, except for a small number of party members who remained in the Soviet Union, the great majority of party members for a long time were engaged in busy leadership work during the war and construction periods, were used to accepting instructions and implementing policies, and an extremely small number of them had the opportunity to engage in advanced studies on theory. After the defeat of Wang Ming's dogmatism, the trust in the empiricism of Mao's Zedong, who held power, gradually became more Zedong, who held power, gradually became more absolute.

Fourth, the majority of CPC members came from the rural areas. Their educational level was low, and they were ignorant and ill-informed. It was really hard for them to swallow foreign translated works, which paid excessive attention to wording. Liu Shaoqi said: "Not many member of the Chinese party could read the original works of Marx and Lenin, and very few of those who could read them finished their reading." Recent statistics show that of the present 40 million party members 15 million are illiterate or semiliterate. (See the 3 February ZHONGGUO RIBAO) It is highly interesting that some articles published after the Cultural Revolution show that many old party

members and intellectuals, when in the prisons and cowsheds of the Cultural Revolution could concentrate on reading and studying the works of Marx and Lenin, "thereby improving their ability to see through the gang of four."

Liu Shaoqi's Attempt at Liberalization

After the CPC was in power, did it make up for its negligence with regard to Marxism during the war years?

The CPC has censured the youth and people for their "three crises in confidence" (faith, confidence, and trust). This was unfair; actually these crises stemmed from the CPC upper stratum. From a look at the succession of events for nearly 30 years, we see that it is precisely the CPC itself that has had problems of basic faith. It maintained a lukewarm relationship with Marxism-Leninism and had faint liking for it, either interpreting it at will or quoting it out of context, thereby creating a constant vacillation between left and right, and confusing people's minds and making them lose confidence.

What was unfortunate was that, during this long period of time, the CPC did not make, or made with great difficulty, other choices.

In the early stage of the fifties there was a "leaning to the side" of total Sovietization, which could not yet be sustained, and it actually was related to the CPSU's destalinization movement. However, Mao Zedong's nature of not sticking to one thing and finishing it and thinking what he did was always right is an internal factor that cannot be overlooked. If he had "given guidance" in a Marxist way, at the least he should have drawn a lesson from Stalin's mistakes, and not taken such contemptible measures as launching the antirightist movement and dealing ruthless blows at the intellectuals. And the people's commune movement and the Great Leap Forward launched in 1958 showed the degree to which he was almost completely ignorant and presumptuous about the doctrines of communism and the basic laws of economics. The slogans that the people's communes were "large in size and collective in nature" and "entered the stage of communism ahead of time" meant that the ownership of the whole people and the collective ownership was merged into the single form of state ownership. And after Stalin had suffered a defeat in agricultural collectivization, he never again dared to make a premature advance (up to this day the Soviet Union has maintained the two kinds of ownership for as long as 50 years).

The Peng Dehuai incident and the policies carried out by Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai of adjusting and making concessions showed that within the CPC there was a revisionist force that could not be overlooked. At the conference to criticize Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi used Lenin's words when he said: "It would be better for me to usurp party power than for you to do so." Then I said to an African head of state: "No matter what doctrine it is provided you improve the people's living standard they will support you." Even more brilliant, of course, was Deng Xiaoping's theory of "white and black cats," and the "three privates and one guarantee" were their first attempt at effecting liberalization. In those several years, the tactic of the group of pragmatic bureaucrats who held power in the party was not to pursue theoretical perfection in their liberalization. Their public posture was a tough one of

"opposing and criticizing revisionism," but internally and in private they were often not afraid to go back on their word and to reveal the "profound and mysterious truth." However, at this time, they were still only pursuing the illusion of the early stage of the fifties, and hoped to achieve, within that closed system, a self-sufficient haven of peace in which there were no disasters, which would still bear the hue of "agricultural socialism."

The Cultural Revolution Bred a Large Group of Opposition Factions

With regard to the wide-ranging Sino-Soviet polemic, if we put it into the perspective of nationalism, and objectively the past 20 years of this polemic, from the Stalin problem, the Yugoslav problem, and U.S.-Soviet collusion, on which of these theoretical problems actually was one side more Marxist-Leninist? Professing to be the guardians of Marx and Lenin, the CPC quotes the classics to prove their own revolutionary purity. Actually, it was precisely Mao and his antirevisionist scholars who revised the doctrines of their old forebearers, and only from the left side. Now, when Sino-Soviet relations have not yet been normalized, although all the big and small "Khrushchev's" in China have had their reputations restored, there is, of course, no hope that Khrushchev himself will be rehabilitated. But the policies of the CPC now in force in many aspects are even farther from those of the CPSU, and in fact repudiate the revolutionary standpoint of the "nine appraisals."

Noteworthy was a state of mind of Mao Zedong himself. After the Stalin problem was revealed, he clearly saw that, with the Hungarian insurrection and the large group of European and American leftists who quit the party, communism, with the distinctive features of centralization of state power and dictatorship, had encountered a deep crisis on a global scale. In his speeches within the party, his conversations with (Aisinuo) in 1964, and his letter to Jiang Qing in 1966, he clearly expressed his dispirited mood that "flowers will die, do what one may." He said that nobody now believes in Marx and Lenin, that in a hundred years Marxism-Leninism will have vanished, and so forth. Of course, only he would dare to say these things, and also only he would dare to face this world trend and make vigorous efforts to turn the tide and put up a desperate struggle. Therefore, it was against the background of this crisis psychology of Mao's that antirevisionism and the Cultural Revolution were launched.

The exciting cause of the Cultural Revolution was on the theoretical plane, and it was the inevitable extension of the Sino-Soviet polemic. As everybody knows, ideological entanglements ran through the Cultural Revolution from beginning to end. Even if this "great revolution" were the same old things in a new guise and they emerged in an endless stream, what is undeniable is that, from the concept of capitalist roaders to the discussing of the criteria for truth after the Cultural Revolution, they all proved that the polemic often possessed a major symbolic meaning. The Cultural Revolution has already been "thoroughly negated" by the CPC, but this negation was oversimple, and it did not point out that from theory to practice the Cultural Revolution completely deviated from Marxism, and in the world economy, which everywhere in the sixties and seventies was taking off, no argument in favor of carrying out this kind of violent movement could be found. Stalin's elimination of counterrevolutionaries in the thirties has been described by historians as a

great persecution and a great piece of insanity. The Cultural Revolution, in which there was no reality to the name, by comparison, makes the former pale into insignificance.

One by-product of the Cultural Revolution was that it bred countless people who criticized socialism, including a large group of disillusioned followers and elements at odds with the leadership within the party itself. In 1980, when Mao was criticized within the party, many party members said that Mao Zedong's individual character was vile, that the 9th CPC Congress was illegal, and that the Cultural Revolution should be defined as a counterrevolutionary event. The result was that Deng Xiaoping's strategy of protecting Mao was overruled (see "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 255-274).

The Muddleheaded, Careless Imbecility of Hua Guofeng

An evaluation of the Lin Biao incident could be that of Deng Xiaoping's: "If Lin Biao had not fled, the world would not have permitted him to stay." And his flight can also be compared to the flight of Hitler's assistant Hess to England. However, Lin Biao's rebellion and flight, objectively, has an incomparable historic significance: it was the first incident that made a fatal criticism of the Cultural Revolution, what Lin Biao was betraying was the Cultural Revolution, was Mao Zedong and his socialism. When his "Project 571" was unfolded before the eyes of the masses, people secretly marveled that this deputy commander would negate the Cultural Revolution as thoroughly as this! Millions upon millions of people gained a profound and concrete understanding from this document, wiped their eyes clear, and saw through the ins and outs of the whole doctrine. Faced with this "Cultural Revolution" every person asked himself: How much is actually true? Is Chairman Mao believable?

How much of China's 30 years of socialism is true? This question, of course, can be answered by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, because only they thoroughly understand these inside stories and family skeletons that are surrounded by layers of secrecy.

When Hua Guofeng came to power, he was already a big joke of this party's. No matter that by normal practice it would not have been his turn, Hua's coming to power showed that the fate of orthodoxy was drawing near, and a strong wind of turning to the right was approaching with more and more force. Although Hua was credited with "smashing the gang of four with one blow," this is dubious. Hua was Mao's appointed successor, and it could be anticipated that he would have insufficient boldness to arrest Jiang Qing before Mao's corpse was cold. In this affair there is concealed that which people do not know. When answering a question put by the Italian reporter Falacci, Deng Xiaoping said that the arrest of the gang of four "was done" by collective force," and he didn't say a single word about Hua's contribution. That Hua, with this muddleheaded carelessness and imbecility, and who did not have the slightest theoretical accomplishment, came to power was precisely an indication that the CPC was in the grip of a crisis (Mao once evaluated him as "honest and not stupid"). If he had had a little intelligence and a little sense of history, he would have seen that one era had already ended and would have not still gone in for the worship of the individual in a big way, and would have not

hastily brought out five volumes of Mao's selected works (perhaps this was his sole contribution in that he shared with the public many speeches by Mao that were hard to come by) and built Mao's memorial hall. The 11th CPC Congress, which he presided over, in its foolish leftist flavor exceeded that of the 10th CPC Congress, when Mao was alive. In view of the fact that the 9th CPC Congress was simply outrageous, the party constitution of the 10th CPC Congress did not mention "Chairman Mao's leadership," but the party constitution of the 11th CPC Congress was filled with praises of Mao. Hua's criticism of the gang of four was a case of "the left criticizing the left" and the new government of this "wise leader" came to an end with a "foreign leap forward."

What Hua Guofeng was doing was exactly like the antirightist campaign and later the Great Leap Forward of 20 years ago, and the "reasonable" group within the party had long ago experienced this set of physical and mental suffering and had reflected on it in their hearts, so how could they accept this vicious circle? The "1980 Reform" plan of 1980 showed that the break with the 30-year tradition had already begun.

Reaction to Reactionary History

By tracking the footprints of history, we can conclude that the CPC never truly accepted Marxism, or that is to say, Marxism never struck roots and settled in China. The Communist Party members only borrowed its banner and certain of its tenets. In reality they are a batch of utilitarians who are either left or right.

That Deng Xiaoping's line has been able in the eighties to bestride the length and breadth of the Chinese mainland and to smash through ring upon ring of strong roadblocks is, to be sure, related to his own thinking, breadth of vision, and sense of mission; but a deeper reason is that his line is planted in a plot of land in which normal human feelings have been trampled upon and in which faith has been pounded to pieces, and it is a reaction to a reactionary history that developed to the extreme. The CPC's crisis of faith precisely became the motive power for this reform on an unprecedented scale. In other words, the CPC's weakness in ideological tradition could cause a formidable man like Mao Zedong "to occupy a mountain and proclaim himself king" and dominate an age, and also could give the "revisionist" Deng Xiaoping the opportunity to give play to his ambition to govern a country and his people. Under these historical conditions, if there were no Deng Xiaoping there would be another person who would come forward and play a similar role. On the mainland there was once a popular saying, namely, that if Jiang Qing had risen to power, after she held power in her hands she most probably would have put into practice the policy of opening to the outside world and would have bought the people's support by providing conveniences for them.

If the CPC had been reverent and respectful toward Marx, the probable result would have been that there would have been neither a Mao Zedong nor a Deng Xiaoping. Therefore, the "insufficient theoretical preparation" is both the CPC's weak point and strong point. The actions of Mao and Deng are different, but in political philosophy their pragmatism is identical.

The Theory of a Make-Up Lesson in Capitalism

Another interpretation of Deng Xiaoping's line is the "theory of a make-up lesson."

During the Cultural Revolution many people often could not help express their dissatisfaction with the reality by an intonation: "Alas, China's feudal society lasted too long!" By extension they said: "China has suffered losses because it did not go through the capitalist stage." This is probably a fairly widespread idea after the Cultural Revolution, and people have even expressed it in writing, calling for carrying out a "make-up lesson in capitalism," after which socialism would again be practiced. This make-up lesson concept is also rather able to console the broken spirit of many idealists.

In his 1945 report "On Coalition Government," Mao Zedong put forward the viewpoint that Chinese capitalism had had too little of the necessary development that it should have had, and in Tianjin in 1949 Liu Shaoqi held the view that "there is merit in exploitation." But their "New Democracy" had been practiced for no more than 5 years when they hastily switched to the "socialist revolution," which showed that they were not enthusiastic about making up the lesson of capitalism and were not enthusiastic about historical materialism.

Now, Deng Xiaoping's reform, although already exceeding the expedient nature of the strategic retreat of Lenin's New Economic Policy, just as they constantly declare, the highest principle in their policy decisions is "seeking truth from facts" and doing things according to needs, and in their world view there is no recognition of an identity with capitalism. At the least, we can see that they have major reservations about the "superstructure" of capitalism. It is very hard to say that this Deng-style socialism, which is full of the enterprising spirit, is a "make-up lesson" and that they are deliberately making up the lesson of capitalism; it is better to say that they have adopted the standpoint of making use of capitalism and Marxism for their own purposes. This doing as they please, coupled with actual threats to the policy, stems from the highly probable ideology in the power structure, and thus Deng's prediction that in the first 50 years and last 50 years of the next century there would be no change in his policy is not a hundred percent believable.

As for Deng's supporters and certain conservatives in the bureaucracy who maintain unity with the center, there could be among them a disposition for a "policy of concession." In China's history, the policy of concession was often a cause for people's joy. After a war, the flames of which spread everywhere and which produced countless casualties, the new ruler would frequently take enlightened measures, such as reducing corvees and levies, as concessions to the peasants; for example, the enlightened administrations of the Emperors Wen and Jin during the Han Dynasty and the enlightened administration of Emperor Daizong during the Tang Dynasty. After the 10-year Cultural Revolution, which brought calamity to the country and the people, naturally was an appropriately opportune time to put into practice the policy of concession and letting the people rest. The urgency of Deng Xiaoping's policy has a certain kind of individual characteristic. He is already 80 years old and "cannot but be in a

hurry." Next year he plans to retire, and his desire for honor as a Communist Party member and his heroism make the carrying out of his policy something he cannot refrain from. The long-range blueprint for China that he has now drawn up does not stop with the kind of revisionism Mao rebuked, but is the Deng Xiaoping doctrine that has a Western hue and China's traditional characteristics.

However, haste makes waste. From our observation of the current evaluation of the CPC, this is our only word of advice.

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